

THE
Secret History,
 OF THE
 Four last Monarchs
 OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

VIZ.

James I. } Charles II.
 Charles I. } James II.

To which is added,

An *Appendix*, Containing the
 Later Reign of *James the Second*,
 from the Time of his Abdication of
England, to this present *January, 1691.*

WITH

Particular Remarks on his Private Acti-
 ons in *IRELAND.*

London, Printed in the Year, 1691.

T H E P R E F A C E.

TH O' it hath pleased God to reserve the Art of reading men's Thoughts to Himself; yet as the Fruit tells the name of the Tree, so do the outward Works of Men, so far as their Cogitations are acted, give us whereof to guess at the rest: No man can long continue masqued in a counterfeit Behaviour; The things that are forced for pretences, having no ground to Truth, cannot long dissemble their own Natures.

And tho' we ought not rashly to rake into the Ashes of the Dead (much less of Deceased Princes,) and express either their Personal Miscarriages, or their Failures in Management of the Government; yet, no doubt, but the making them Publick, may sometimes contribute not a little to the General Good.

It is one of the Encomiums given to

The Preface.

Suetonius, That be made Publick to the World; the Vices and Miscarriages of the Twelve Cæsars, with the same freedom with which they were by them Committed.

And there is no question, but one of his chiefest Reasons for so doing, was this, Because he would not deceive Posterity; and all agree, that he was Contemporary with the Three last. So that the Enormities of Domitian could not but be fresh in his Memory, when he wrote his Life; and there might be several Persons Living, as might have the some Particular Affections for Domitian, as there are now Adorers of our late Monarchs. For which reason, there is a wary Caution among some People, That Truth is not always to be spoken. Which perhaps may be sometimes True; but, as the Case stands with these sheets, not at all to be taken notice of. The pains of this short History, being as well to Vindicate, as to Inform; and Written in Opposition to one of the French King's most Scandalous Libels, and bitter Invectives against our present Sovereign; Entituled, The True Portraicture of William Henry of Nassaw, &c. Now, to have made a Particular Answer to all the Extravagancies, and Impertinent Flams of a Malicious Libeller, would

The Preface.

would have been a Fending and Proving altogether Fruitless. It was therefore thought the more concise way, to bring our Late Monarchs Reigns upon the Stage; and then let all the World judge of the Furberies and Tyranny of those Times, and the Integrity, Sincerity, and Sweetness of Their Present Majesties Reign; since by comparing Them, the most wilfully Blind may be convinced, how infinitely Happy we are, under their present Majesties Government; beyond what we were in the late Reign; which were but a very considerable matter (if any thing) below the French Tyranny; and considering the unparrallel'd Vertue, that are so Resplendent in our Gracious Sovereigns, we may, with all the reason in the World, assure our selves of a lasting Peace; and as much Happiness under Them Now, as we had Troubles and Confussions under the Former: For Their Religion, Integrity and Moderation (which must always be in conjunction with Princes that are truly Patres Patriæ) are as Notorious to the World, (so that Their greatest Enemies cannot deny them) as were the Atheism, and furious Bigottism of the former Reigns; Vices much of the same pernicious Consequences to a Kingdom, if the

The Preface.

latter be not the more dangerous ; since the greatest Villanies, that ever were perpetrated in the World, have been Masqued with seeming Zeal for Religion.

But since there are not a few, who, tho' they seem to decry the Tyrannies of the Two late Kings, yet approve of much the same Actions of Two that Preceded Them, (One of whom, some Men have Vainly, if not Blasphemously compared to the King of Kings ;) not considering, that they laid the Foundations of that Tyranny, which the Others brought to so great a Perfection. As to the former of them, viz. K. James I. it will easily appear, from this following History, what great steps He made towards Tyranny: It is certain, That the reason He gave for setting up Episcopacy in Scotland, was, That He might have so many Friends to rely upon in Parliament, i. e. That by them, as the Dead-Weight, He might the better carry on His Designs there: And herein His Politicks did not deceive Him ; for by their means, He and his successors found it no hard matter to reduce that Kingdom to as great slavery, as any in Europe hath groaned under of late Years. How great a Proficient he was in the Art of Dissimulation, or King-Craft, I shall

The Preface.

all only insert one Instance of it Here, which I omitted in the History; especially, because I think it may not be ungrateful to the Reader, viz. That after His Return from Denmark to Scotland, seeming mightily satisfied with the Care the Kirk-Party had taken to preserve the Kingdom in Peace, during his Absence; He was pleas'd to express himself thus, in a general Assembly, That He blest God, that He was Born at sike a Time of the Gospel, and to be King of sike a Kirk, the purest Kirk in the World: The Kirk of Geneva, says He, keeps Yuel and Pasche: What have they from the word of God for That? And for our Neighbour Kirk of England, What is their Service, but an ill-said Mass in English? And concluded with the Solemnest Promises, to Maintain and Preserve the Kirk; when (in the mean while) He was taking all underhand Methods to supplant it, as He did a few Years after.

And as to His Successor, tho' a Kalender'd S. Yet after all the lying Inclinations of self-designing, and ——— ridden Persons of that Princes singular Religion, that very Act of Instituting Plays and Sports on the Lord's Day, is no extraordinary Proof of it.

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The Preface.

The Learned Sir Walter Rawleigh, in the Close of the Preface to his most admirable History, adviseth the Reader to take heed, how he follows Truth too close at the heels, lest it strike out his Teeth: I hope these Relations begins with a distance of Time, not so far off, that the Foot-Steps of Truth are worn out; nor yet so near, as the Foot-steps of it need to be fear'd.

And so irresistible is the Force of Truth, and the Divine Providence so great, that however all possible Diligence may have been used to carry things in secret, and to Act by colourable Pretences (Men often acting like Tumblers, that are Squint-Eyed, looking one way, and Aiming another) yet in these our days, God hath brought great things to Light, discovering many secret and close Contrivances, many Private Consultations, and hidden Designs, which otherwise probably neither We, nor our Posterity should have ever known. I conclude this my Preface, with the Remarks of a Learned Spaniard on History in general;

Satis est Historiæ, si sit vera; quæ ut reliquia habet omnia.

Si veritatem non habet obtinere nomen non Potest.

THE

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF
King JAMES I.

TIME, which puts a period to all things under the Sun, began now to sheath the Sword of War, that had been long disputing the Controversie, which Religion and Policy (that Princes mix together) had for many Years so fiercely maintained: The wearing out of that old, but glorious, and most happy Piece of Sovereignty, Queen Elizabeth, bating the Spanish Violence, and ending with the Irish Rebellion, and Submission of the great Earl of Tyrone; as if the old Genius of Iron handed War, and a New one Crowned with a Palm of Peace, had taken possession of the English Nation; JAMES the Sixth, King of Scotland, was Proclaimed King of England. For though Princes that find here a Mortal Felicity, love not the noise of a Successor in their Life time, yet they are willing (for the Peace of their People) to have one, when they can have no more of it. That which this Blessed Queen could not endure from others, She was pleased to express her self, and bequeath in her last Will, as a Legacy to this, then Happy Nation. He was Thirty Years of Age when he came to the Crown. How dangerous the passage had been from his very Infancy to his middle Age, is not only written in many Histories, but the untamed and untractable Spirits of many of that Nation, are a sufficient Witness and Record.

The wise Queen found many petty Titles, but none of that Power, any other Hand that should have reacht for the Crown, might have caught a Cloud of Confusion; and those Supporters and Props, that held up Her Greatness (loth to submit to Equals) made Scaffolds to his Triumphs.

In the prosecution of what I shall remark, relating to this King, I shall avoid all unnecessary Severity, and observe more Duty and Respect than may possibly be thought due by Posterity, to the Person of a Prince, that (after so exact a Pattern as *Queen Elizabeth* left him) did, by debauching Parliaments, and so often breaking his Word, so far irritate, no less than impoverish the Subject, as his Son was forced to give Concession to one rendred Indissoluble but by their own Will: A mischief never could have befallen *England*, had King *James* left them in the same blessed serene temper he found them at the Death of the Queen. The News of which was brought him first by *Cary*, after Earl of *Monmouth*; who, not able to satisfie such a concourse of Doubts and Questions, as far more resolute natures then His do often muster up on less occasions, the King stood as in a Maze, being more affected through the fear of Opposition, than pleased with the present Report, till, by a Lamer Post, He was advertised of His being joyfully Proclaimed in *London* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and of the unquestioned reception his Title in all places met with, no less than that the Hopes of some, and Fears of the major part, assisted by the prudent carriage of the Treasurer, and ranting Protestations of the Earl of *Northumberland* (that in all places vapoured he would bring him in by the Sword) had stopped their Mouths, that desired he might be obliged to Articles: Amongst these truly Noble, Heroick, and Publick Spirits, was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Fortescue*, &c. Who were all afterwards ruined by the King; and the Noble Sir *Walter* most Barbarously cut off.

This Prince held his Thoughts so intent upon Ease and Pleasure, that, to avoid any interruption, likely to impede any part of the Felicity he had possessed his Imagination with, from the Union of these Crowns, and to fit an example for his Neighbours imitation, whom he desired to bring into the like resolution, he cast himself, as it were, blindfold into a Peace with *Spain*, far more destructive to *England* than a War. King *James*, throughout his whole Reign, contenting himself with the humble thought of being a Terror to his own People, not vallaing that himself or Nation

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should make any considerable Figure among Foreign Princes.

At his first coming, he was long detained from *Westminster* by a Plague, looked upon as the greatest, till exceeded in that which broke out after his Death; taken by the ill boding *English* for a presage of worse Days than they had already seen: The good Government of Queen *Elizabeth* not being in probability likely to bear the Charges (without falling into some destructive commotion) of Two such Expensive Princes Succession, without having one more popular to intervene.

After the Peace, of too much concernment to his Catholick Majesty to afford him leisure to imagine, much less to insert so rugged an Article as the performance of any Promise our King had made before his Reception, in case the *Papists* did not oppose (which I have found Registered by many, and so high as amounted to a Toleration at least, if not an Establishing of *Papery*; he then observed in prudence it could not be conceded by this new King, having so many of his Subjects *Protestants* for one of the *Romish* Profession: And being besides no more zealous than other Princes, that make use of a Religion only for a Fence to immure their Persons and Prerogative; but esteem it a meer accident where reason of State drives on a Bargain without it.

These neglects of the Kings of *Spain* and *England*; the first remaining as careless of his Faith as the other did of the performance of his Word, put the *Roman Catholics*, for the present, into so great a Despair, that led them into that damn'd Conspiracy, called the *Gunpowder-Treason*, the account of which, in general, is so well known, that I need not here enlarge, only give some hints concerning it, which is not common to be met with. The *French* Ambassador, then resident at Court, affirming to some Persons of Quality his Intimates, That the first intimation of the *Powder-Treason* came from his Master, who received it from the *Jesuits* of his Faction, to the end he might share in our Ruines: The Kingdom of *England* being, in the Pope's own Judgment, (at that time) too great an addition to that of *Spain*; where, though it was first coined (some say during the days of Queen *Elizabeth*) yet the Priests

that undertook the Promoting of it, sought to render it the most beneficial they could to their respective Patrons. And here I cannot omit, that after this happy Discovery, his Majesty sent an Agent on purpose to congratulate King James's great Preservation: A Flattery so palpable, as the Pope could not refrain laughing in the face of Cardinal D' Ossat, when he first told it him; nor he forbear to inform his King of it, as may be found in his Printed Letters. It being notorious, that at King James's first assumption to the Throne of *England*, none sought his destruction more cordially than the *Spaniards*, till a continued Tract of Experience had fully acquainted him with his Temper. Nor was our King himself backward in fomenting this Innocent Opinion amongst his Neighbours, but did, as soon as he could possibly, by neglecting the Royal Ships, and casting Contempt upon all formerly in Military Employment (the Wings, Nails, and Teeth of this Nation) to testify to the World he meant to spoil no People of their Honour, Lands, Felicity, Goods, or Laws, but only those all Princes celebrated for Wisdom and Gallantry think themselves tied in Nature to preserve; by which he entailed Misery upon his Succession; and, without the more Mercy of God Eternal, Slavery to, &c. For, by penning up the *English* Valour, and opening the Fountain of Honour with a Succession of neglect cast upon the Nobility and Commons in their Representatives, by denying them their reasonable Demands, or deluding them after the Royal assent given, by going contrary to what was Enacted; these practises put him upon such low shifts, that he at last having rendered himself incapable of Trust, did send to have the Money given by the Parliament, deposited into the hands of Commissioners; out of which he did, notwithstanding after force it, according as his impertinent Expenses demanded Supplies. Nor was he more steady, faithful, or just in his compacts with Foreign Princes, who, in a small time became so well acquainted with his Complexion, that his Promise did not incite them either to Hope or Fear, or raise in any of them the Passions of Love or Hatred. And this is one of the Reasons then given, why the most Christian King did so far indulge his Preservation, as to advertise him of the former

former Conspiracy, lest he should exchange *Herb John* for *Coloquintida*. Another, but in my opinion a very weak one (for what obligation can restrain a Prince, that sees an advantage before him) was the favours receiv'd from hence during the League. But the most probable, was the advantage *Spain* was likely to make of it; first, by reason he had an Army then ready in *Flanders* to Land in the huge mist, so black a Cloud must needs have caused over the Nation. Nor could his Holiness himself look upon our Ruine with any affection; *England* being of too great a Consequence to fall under any other Jurisdiction save her own.

To conclude, whosoever revealed this Conspiracy, it cost the King of *France* his Life, not only by questioning the truth of his Conversion, but did raise so high a suspicion of the immense Treasure, and mighty Army he had with no less industry than secrecy gotten together (not one living owning to this day the knowledge of his Design) in the hearts of *Spain* and *Rome*, as they procured his Death: His freedom to the King of great *Britain* rendring this Silence the more suspected.

Now, to take off the Subjects Eyes from observing the great Indulgency used by King *James* in behalf of the *Papists*, a Quarrel was revived (now almost asleep, because it had long escaped Persecution, the Bellows of *Schism*) with a People stiled *Puritans*, who meeting no nearer a definition than the Name, all the Conscientious Men in the Nation shared the Contempt. Since under that general term were comprehended not only those as did oppose the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, but such as out of meer honesty refrained the Vices of the Times, were branded by this Title; weaved of such a Fashion, as it became a covering to the Wicked, and no better than a Fools Coat to Men truly Conscientious. Neither was any charged with it, though in the best Relation, thought competent for Preferment in Church or Common-weal; which made the Wicked glory in their Impiety, and such as had not an extraordinary measure of Grace, ashamed of any outward profession of Sanctity. Court Sermons were fraught with bitter Invectives against these People, whom they seated in a Class far nearer the confines of Hell than *Papists*, yet the wisest durst not define them.

To avoid the imputation of *Puritanism* (a greater rub in the way to Preferment than Vice) our Divines, for the generality, did sacrifice more time to *Bacchus* than *Minerva*; and being excellent Company, drew the most ingenious Laity into a like excess; And, for their ordinary Studies, they were School-points and passionate Expressions, as more conversant with the Friars than the Fathers, scorning in their ordinary discourse at *Luther* and *Calvin*, but especially at the last, so as a certain Bishop of this Stamp, thank'd God he never (tho' a good Poet himself) had read a Line in *Hm* or *Chaucer*. The same used this simile at Court, *That our Religion, like the Kings-Arms, stood between Two Beasts, the Puritan and Papist*. Nor did the notorious debauchery of the Episcopal Clergy add a little to the Rent of the Church, much augmented by the *Scottish* Propensity to *Presbitery*, though the chiefeſt promoters of it in their Doctrine and Example were the Lecturers, Vicars, and Parsons of inconsiderable worth and Livings, being the readier to oppose Authority, as having little to loose; becoming, by this means, the darlings of the Rabble. Nor did the suddain Translation of Bishops, from less to greater Sees give time to visit sufficiently their respective Charges; being more intent upon the receipt of such Taxes, as a long abused Custom had estated them in, than upon Reformation. I have been the more punctual, because from the Pulpit came all our future Miseries, God not being served there as he ought. The Court Sermons informing the King he might, as *Christ's* Vicegerent, command all; and that the People, if they denied him Supplement, or inquired after the disposure of it, were presumptuous Peepers into the sacred Ark of the State, not to be done but under the severest Curse, though it appeared likely to fall, through the falsehood or folly of those at the Helm. But, on the contrary, the other qualified Preachers did fliminate against Non-residency, Profanation of the Lords Day, connivance at Popery, Persecution of God's People.

Now, by this time the Nation grew feeble, and over-oppressed with *Impositions*, *Monopolies*, *Aids*, *Privy Seals*, *Encasements*, *pretermitted Customs*, &c. besides all Forfeitures on Penal Statutes, with a multitude of tricks
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more to cheat the *English* Subject (the most, if not all, unheard of in *Queen Elizabeth's* day) which were spent upon the *Scots*, by whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who, for want of honest Traffique, did extract Gold out of the Faults of the *English*, whose Pardons they begged and sold at intolerable Rates; Murder it self not being excepted: Nay, I dare boldly say, one Man might more safely have killed another, than a raskal Deer; but if a Stag had been known to have miscarried, and the Author fled, a Proclamation with the description of the Party, had been presently Penned by the Attorney General, and the Penalty of His Majesties high displeasure (by which was understood the *English Inquisition*, the *Star Chamber*) threatned against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him. Thus Satyrical, or if you please Tragical, was this *Sylvan Prince* against Deer-killers, and indulgent to Man-slayers. This *Star Chamber* was a Den to Arbitrary Justice, where the Keeper for the time being, two Bishops, two Judges, and as many wise Lords and great Officers Sate, as thought fit to come; the most of whom, though unable to render a reason for their Censure, did, every *Wednesday* and *Friday* in Term-time, concur like so many Canibals, to tear such as refused to Worship the Minion, or to yield to the pretended Royal Prerogative. Nor did they scape who were any way Satyrical, a thing not to be avoided by the Lovers of Truth; Corruption being as common as Execution, with which it seldom went other than hand in hand.

The palpable Partiality that descended from the King to the *Scots*, did estate the whole love of the *English* upon his Son *Henry*; whom they engaged, by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the Power of any Prince, meerly humane, to bring so much felicity unto a Nation, as they did all his Life propose to themselves at the Death of King *James*. The Government of this young Princes House was with much Discretion, Modesty, Sobriety, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbraiding, the contrary proceedings of his Father) in an high reverence to Piety, not Swearing himself, nor keeping any that did; through which he came to be advanced, beyond an ordinary measure in the affections of the City; to whom

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he was not only plausible in his Carriage, but very just in Payments, so far as his Credit out-reached the King's, both in the Exchange and the Church; in which the Son could not take so much Felicity, as the Father did. Discontent, to find all the worth he imagined in himself wholly lost in the hopes the People had of this young Gentleman; from whence Kings may be concluded far more unhappy than ordinary Men; for tho' whilst Children are young, they may afford them safety, yet when arrive at that Age, which used to bring comfort to other Parents, they produce only Jealousie and Fear: For if Deformed, Foolish, or Vicious, they offend the natural disposition of a Father, who cannot but desire his Issue perfect; if they prove otherwise, and be excellent, that of a Prince; because his Reign must needs be thought dim and tedious who hath such a Spark to succeed him as this *Henry*, which, in all Mens Judgments, appeared more Illustrious than his old Father. Thus are Kings found as remote from Felicity with Children, as from Safety without: And, as the last of these considerations have tempted some to acknowledge the Issue of Strangers.

If the positive Assertions of some, as well as common Fame, does not out-strip Truth, King *James* was by Fear lead into great and strange Extreame (finding his Son *Henry* not only averse to any Popish Match, but saluted by the *Puritans*, as one prefigured in the Apocalyps for *Rome's* Destruction) insinuating as if the Prince was not kindly dealt by: I should quite have omitted this conjecture, and left it wholly to the decision of the great Tribunal, was it not certain, that his Father did dread him; and that the King, though he would not deny him any thing he plainly desired, yet it appeared rather the result of Fear and outward Compliance, than Love and natural Affection.

This King's extravagant Anti-Suppers was a Vanity not heard of in our Fore Fathers time, or ever practised since; and for ought I have read, unpractised by the most Luxurious Tyrants: The manner of which was, to have the Board covered at the first entrance of the Guest with Dishes seven Foot high, filled with the choicest Viands Sea or Land could afford; and all this
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once seen, and having feasted the Eyes of the Invited, was in a manner thrown away, and fresh set on to the same height : An Attendance on the King Eat at one of these Suppers a whole Pye valued at Ten Pounds Sterling, being composed of *Ambergrieese, Musk, &c.*

As no other reason seemed to appear in this Kings choice but handsomness; so the love the King shewed was as amorously conveyed, as if he had mistaken their Sex, and thought them Ladies; which *Somerset* and *Buckingham* did labour to resemble, in the Effeminateness of their Dressings; though in Wanton looks, and wanton Gestures, they exceeded any part of Woman-kind. Nor was his Love, or what else the World will please to call it, carried on with a discretion sufficient to cover a less scandalous Behaviour; for the King kissing them after so lascivious a Mode in Publick, and upon the Theatre (as it were) of the World, prompted many to imagine things done in the Tiring-House, that exceed my Expressions, no less than they do my Experience.

Now as to the Poysoning business of *Sir Thomas Overbury*; on which account King *James* made so many dreadful Imprecations upon himself and Posterity, not to spare any that were found Guilty; but how he failed, the Relation will inform.

The Earl of *Montgomery* declining in his Favour with King *James*, Mr. *R. Carr*, a very handsome Gentleman, and well bred, appear'd upon the Stage; who chose for his chief Companion *Sir Thomas Overbury*, a Gentleman of excellent Parts, but very Proud and Haughty. Now was *Carr* Knighted, and *Overbury's* Pride rose with the others Honours; then was the Strife between the Two great Statesmen, *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who should most indear themselves with this great Favorites Creature *Overbury*, but he with a kind of scorn neglected both their Friendships.

Northampton finding himself neglected by so mean a Spark. (as he thought) followed *Balaam's* Counsel, by sending a *Moabitish* Woman unto him, in which he made use of one *Coppinger*, a Gentleman who had spent a fair Estate, and to supply his necessities, was turn'd a kind of Procurer, or what the present Town calls a Cock Bard. This *Moabitish* Woman was a Daughter of
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the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Wife to the young Earl of *Essex*.

This Train took, and the first private Meeting was at *Coppinger's* House: This privacy in their stolen Pleasures, made *Coppinger* a Friend to *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, though but a Servant to Viscount *Rochester*, for so was *Carr* now made.

Overbury was that *John Baptist* that reprov'd the Lord for that Sin of using the Lady, and abusing the young Earl; he would often call her Strumpet, and her Mother and Brothers Bawds, &c.

Then to satisfy *Overbury*, and blot out the name of Sin, his Love led him into a more desperate way, by a resolution to Marry another Man's Wife; against this then did *Overbury* exclaim much louder: On which a Council was held to concert about the best means to be rid of him.

The Plot then was, he must be sent a Leidger Ambassador into *France*; which, by Obeying, they should be rid of so great an Eye sore; by Disobeying, he incurred the displeasure of his Prince, a Contempt that he could not expect less than Imprisonment for, and by that means be sequestred from his Friends.

And thus far I do believe the Earl of *Somerset* (for so was he now made) was consenting; this Stratagem took, and *Overbury* might truly say, (*Vide meliora deteriora sequar*) for he indeed made the worst choice; it could not be thought but such an Employment was much better for him to have accepted, than to be confined to a loathsome Prison.

Having him now fast in Prison, *Herodias* by pleasing her *Herod*, must also ask, and have his Life; for, *Per scelus ad scelera, tutior est via*; to that end they preferred *Emposides*, to be Servant to Sir *Gerrase Elways*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and a very Wise, Religious Gentleman; he was so ignorant of the Plot, as he never Dreamt of any such matter, until one day (as it should seem) *Weston* being told *Elways* did know, wherefore he was preferred unto him to wait on *Overbury*; he asked the Lieutenant whether he should now do it, *Elways* reply'd, *What?* *Weston* at that being somewhat abashed, which *Elways* quickly apprehended, replied, *No, not yet*; for he did believe there was something known

known to *Weston*; instantly he hasted away (being a little before Dinner) and went into his Study, and *Weston* being come, he examined him the meaning of that Question; at last, between fair means and threatening, perswaded him to confess the Truth; then *Elways*, as he well could, laid before *Weston* the horridness of the Fact, the torments of *Hell*, &c. at last made him so sensible, that he gave the Lieutenant humble thanks, for that he had been instrumental in saving his Soul, by putting him off from so foul Intentions, and faithfully promised never to be concerned in so foul an act, and for a long time as faithfully performed. The Lieutenant ordered *Weston* to bring him such things as were sent to give *Overbury* which he accordingly did; the Lieutenant ever gave them to *Doggs* and *Catts*, some of which died presently, others lingered some time.

During this time, the Earl continued sending to visit *Overbury*, wheedling him with an assurance that he did not forget his Release: At last the Countess growing impatient, sent for *Weston*, reviling him, saying, he was a *Treacherous Villain*, on which he promised her Fidelity to the future; yet the Countess would not trust him alone any more, but joyned one *Franklin* to him, a greater Villain than himself.

Some time after these Two Villains had carried *Overbury* the Tarts, they went to his Chamber, and found him in great Torment, with contention between strength of Nature, and working of the Poyson, and they fearing Nature would have gotten the better, and that it might come upon the judgment of Phylicians that foul Play had been offered him, they immediately stifled him between Two Pillows, and so ended his miserable Life, with the assurance of the Conspirators, that he dyed by Poyson, none thinking otherwise but the Two Murderers.

Now this grand obstacle being removed, the Adulterous Marriage must be brought about; and for the more easie effecting of it, they did (without much trouble) make the King a Party in this Bawdy business, and the Bishops likewise must be principal Actors in bringing this Bawdery to a Marriage, of whom *Bilson*, Bishop of *Winchester* was chief; for which the King Knighted his Son.

The Bishops had many Meetings, in which they wanted no Bribes from the Lord and Lady to have the Nullity brought to pass, wherein the Discourse would have better besited the Mouths of Bawds and Ruffians than grave Divines.

Arch-Bishop *Abbot* opposed and protested against all their Proceedings; for which the King held him in disgrace to his Dying day.

To make up the full measure of Bawdry, and to justify the Nullity; a search must be made into the Lady, to find whether there had been a Penetration, and a Jury of grave Matrons were found fit for that purpose; who, with their Spectacles ground to lessen, not to make the Letter larger, after their Inspection into the Premises, gave Verdict, she was *Intacta Virgo*, which was thought very strange, for the World took notice, that her way was very common, before ever *Somerset* trod in it; besides they two having lived so long in Adultery together. The Plot was contrived thus, The Lady of *Essex*, pretending Modesty makes humble Suit to the Bawdy Bishops (who were all concerned in this Stratagem) that she might come Vailed into the Court, which they all readily granted: One Mrs. *Turner* was dressed in the Countesses Cloaths; and at that time too young to be other than *Virgo Intacta*.

Now is the Nullity pronounced, and the Marriage with *Somerset* speedily Solemnized, but sweet Meat must have lowre Sawce: For not long after *Thrumbal*, Agent at *Bruxels*, had (by one *Reeve*, an Apothecaries Prentice in *London*, that was come there on some occasions) gotten hold of this Poysoning business, on which he presently wrote to Secretary *Wynwood*, that he had business of great consequence to discover, but would not send it, therefore desired License to come over; which after some time the King granted; and now had they good Testimony by the Apothecary, who revealed *Weston*, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Franklin*, to be the principal Agents; yet, it being the time of the King's Progress, nothing was done in it till his Return.

Secretary *Wynwood* having been affronted, and much abused by *Somerset*, in his Secretaryship does now carry himself in a kind of braving way against him, being struck in with the Faction of *Villers's*, who was now
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the rising Sun, and King James's darling Favorites;

King James being returned from his Summers Progress, returns to *Windſor*, from thence to *Hampton-Court*, then to *White Hall*, and Shortly after to *Royston*, to begin his Winter-Journey. And now begins the Game to be plaid, in which the Earl, and Counteſs of *Somerſet* muſt be Loſers; the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, and Secretary *Wynwood*, the managers againſt them.

The day the King went from *Whitehall* to *Theobald's* and ſo to *Royston*, he ſent for all the Judges, (his Lords and Servants encircling him) where kneeling down in the miſt, he ſpoke to them as followeth.

My Lords, the Judges, It is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in Examination a buſineſs of Poiſoning; Lord! in what a moſt miſerable condition ſhall this Kingdom be (the on'y famous Nation for Hoſpitality in the World) if our Tables ſhould become ſuch a ſnare, as none could Eat without danger of Life, and the Italian Cuſtom be introduced among us: Therefore, my Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at the great and dreadful day of Judgment, that you will examine it ſtrictly, without Favour, Affection, or Partiality; and if you ſhall ſpare any that are found Guilty of this Crime, God's Curſe light on you, and your Poſterity: And if I ſpare any, God's Curſe light on Me, and my Poſterity for ever.

But how this dreadful Thunder Curſe or Imprecation was performed, the following account will ſhew.

The King goes to *Royston*, accompanied with the Earl of *Somerſet*; the next day the Earl being to go to *London*, went to kiſs the King's hand, who hanged about his Neck, flabbering his Cheeks, ſaying, When ſhall I ſee you again? On my Soul, I ſhall neither Eat nor Sleep until you come again: The Earl told him in about three days: For God's ſake let me, ſaid the King, Shall I, ſhall I? Then lolled about his Neck, flabbering his Cheeks as formerly; the Earl was ſcarcely in his Coach, when the King uſed theſe very words, I ſhall never ſee his Face more. Let the Reader judge whether this Motto of *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, was not as well performed in this Paſſage, as his *Beati Pacifici*, in the whole courſe of his Life. But before *Somerſet's* approach to *London*, his Counteſs was Apprehended; at his Arrival, himſelf.

Now are in Hold the Earl, his Countess, Sir *Thomas Monson*, Mrs. *Turner*, *Weston*, and *Franklin*, with some others of less Note; the three last Named were immediately Arraigned, Tryed, and Executed.

The next that came on the Stage was the Countess and Sir *T. Monson*, but the King being informed that she latter would discover some Secrets of Prince *Henry's* Death and other Court Intreagues, He immediately dispatched an Order to *Coke* to stop Prosecution: And now for the last Act enters *Somerſet* himself on the Stage, about whom many Stratagems were used, and the King was put in great fear before they could get him from the Tower to Westminster, to take his Tryal, but it was at last effected by a Stratagem of Sir *George Moor*, Lieutenant of the Tower, but yet (for fear he should fly out into some strange Discovery against the King) he had Two Servants placed on each side of him, with a Cloak on their Arms, giving them a peremptory Order, if that *Somerſet* did any way fly out on the King, they should instantly Hoodwink him with that Cloak, and take him violently from the Bar: But the Earl finding himself thus over-reached, recollected a better Temper, and went on calmly in his Tryal, where he held the Company till Seven at Night: But whoever had seen the Kings restless motion all that day, sending to every Boat he see Landing at *Greenwich Bridge*, cursing all that came without Tydings, would have easily judged all was not right, and there had been some grounds of his Fears of *Somerſet's* Boldness: But, at last, one brings him word he was Condemned, and the Passages all was quiet.

And there were other strong inducements to believe *Somerſet* knew, that (by him) he desired none other should be partaker of, and that all was not Peace within in the Peace maker himself; for he ever courted *Somerſet* to his Dying day, and gave him 4000*l.* per annum for Fee Farm Rents after he was Condemned, and the King kept correspondence Weekly with him by Letters, to his Death.

Some are of Opinion that his Countess and he would both have suffered, had it not been for an unhappy Expression of Chief Justice *Coke*, who, in a Vain glorious Speech, to show his Vigilancy, enters into a Rapture as
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he sat on the Bench, saying, *God knows what become of that sweet Babe Prince Henry; But I know somewhat*: And surely, in searching the Cabinets, he lighted on some Papers, that spoke plain in that which was ever whispered; which had he gone on in a gentle way, would have fall'n in of themselves not to have been prevented; but this folly of his Tongue stopp'd the Breath of the Discovery of that so foul a Murder.

And now begins *Villers*, the new Favorite to Reign, without any controulment; now he rises in Honour as well as Pride, being broken out of the modest bounds that formerly had impall'd him, to the High-way of Pride and Scorn; turning out, and putting in all he pleased: First he gets the Lord-Admiral turned out, and himself made Lord-High Admiral: Next, He procured the Seal to be taken from *Egerton*, Lord Keeper, and procures the place for *Bacon*, who was to pay him a large Pension out of it; *Heath*, Attorney General, paid a Pension; *Bargrave* Dean, paid a Pension with multitudes of others: *Fotherby*, made Bishop of *Salisbury*, paid down 3500*l.* for his Bishoprick. There were Books of Rates on all Offices, Bishopricks, Deaneries in *England*, that could tell you what Fines, what Pensions; all which went to maintain his numerous Beggarly Kindred, which otherwise it had been almost impossible to have maintained them with Three Kingdoms Revenue.

Then must these Women Kindred be Married to Earls, and Earls Eldest Sons, Barons, or chief Gentlemen of greatest Estates; insomuch that the very Female Kindred were so numerous, as sufficient to have Peopled any Plantation: Nay, the very Kitchen Wenches were Married to Knights Eldest Sons.

Proposals being made for a Match with the Infanta of *Spain*, and some Progress being made therein, it was resolv'd,

'That Sir *John Digby*, by Commission under the great Seal, was authorized to treat and conclude the Marriage; and because the matter of Religion was in chief Debate, those qualified Articles that were brought out of *Spain*, were sent back, signed with the King's Hand. They were to this effect:

‘ That the Pope’s Dispensation be first obtained by the meer Act of the King of Spain.

‘ That the Children of this Marriage be not constrained to be brought up *Protestants*, nor their Title to the Crown prejudiced in case they prove *Catholicks*.

‘ That the Infanta’s Family may be *Catholicks*, and shall have places appointed for their Divine Service, according to the use of the Church of Rome; and that the Jesuits, and other Ecclesiasticks and Priests may walk in their proper Habits.

‘ That she shall have a competent number of Jesuits, Priests and Chaplains; and a Confessor always attending Her, one whereof shall have Power to govern the Family in Religious matters.

The People of *England* having in Memory the intended Cruelty of ss, and hating the *Popish* Religion, generally hated this Match, and loathed the thoughts of having the *Romish Priests* to walk about the Streets in their Habits, and would have bought it off at the dearest rate; and, what they durst, oppos’d it by Speeches, Counsels, Wishes, Prayers; but if any one speak louder than his Fellows, he was soon put to silence, disgraced, and cross’d in Court-Preferments: The *Roman Catholicks* desired the Match above-measure, hoping for a Toleration, yea, a total Restauration of their Religion: For besides the publick Articles, these following private ones, in favour of the *Roman Catholicks*, were subscribed and sworn to by the King: they were in substance as followeth:

I. ‘ That particular Laws made against *Roman Catholicks*, as likewise general Laws under which all are equally comprised, if so be they are such which are repugnant to the *Romish* Religion, shall not hereafter on any account or means, be put in Execution against them.

II. ‘ That no other Laws shall hereafter be made anew, against the said *Roman Catholicks*, but that there shall be a perpetual Toleration of the *Roman Catholick* Religion.

III. ‘ That We, and the Prince of Wales, will interpose our Authority, and will do as much as in us shall lie, that the Parliament shall approve, confirm, and ratifie all and singular Articles in favour of the *Roman*

man Catholicks: And that hereafter we will not consent that the said Parliament should ever at any time Enact, or Write any other new Laws against *Roman Catholicks*.

The great Concessions of King *James* towards the *Roman Catholicks*, brought great swarms of Priests and Jesuits into *England*, who were busie in drawing the People from the *Protestant* Religion: And a titular Bishop of *Cardon* privately came to *London*, to exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction over the *Roman Catholicks* of this Kingdom.

'Tis said that the King had now so much confidence of the Match as to say openly in the Court, That now all the Devils in Hell could not break it.

The *Spaniards*, the better to cover their Designs, ordered that the Infanta should be sired the Princess of *England*; and she was kept no longer in her Virgin Retirements.

The *Spanish* Match having been long in Treary, and it being suspected now, that the *Spaniard* did jiggle with the State in this as they formerly did in a Match with that brave Prince *Henry*. Whether the King suspected any such matter, or any Whimsie came into the Brains of the great Favorite and Prince, to imitate the old Stories of the Knights Errand; but agreed it was (it should seem) that the Prince must go himself very privately into *Spain* with his Favorite *Buckingham*, under the borrowed Names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*; and they had the Ports laid so, that none should follow them to give any Notice to the *French* Court, through which they must pass.

And now many Lords and other Servants flock over, that he might appear the Prince of *Great Brittain*: Many Treaties were, sometimes Hope, sometimes Fear, sometimes great Assurance, then all dash again. At last, after many Heats and Cools, the Prince wrote a Letter to his Father of a desperate Despair, not only of not enjoying his Lady, but of never more returning.

Now the folly of this Voyage, began to appear, many smiling at the Follies, that were concern'd on it; and however the King was a cunning Dissembler, and shew'd much outward Sorrow, as he did for Prince *Henry's* Death, yet the Court believed little Grief

came near his Heart ; for that secret Hatred he had of late bore to *Buckingham* (as being satiated with him,) and his Adoring the Rising Sun, made it generally thought that he would not value the losing his Son, so that *Buckingham* might be lost also: yet *Buckingham* had so much awe over the King, that he durst not make shew to affect any other.

One great Reason of the King's Hating of *Buckingham* was, a large Information that he privately receiv'd from one *Innosa*, an Extraordinary Ambassador from *Spain*, of *Buckingham's* design on his Person, whether by Poyson, Pistol, Dagger, &c. he could not tell.

Buckingham being fully satisfied on several Accounts of the great Hatred the King now bare unto him, He turned as great an Hater of the King; and though the King had more Power to Revenge, He had less Courage: And however, the World did believe the King's Inclinations was out of a Religious ground that He might not Revenge; yet it was no other but a Cowardly Disposition, that durst not adventure. But altho' the King lost his Opportunity on *Buckingham*, yet the black Plaster and Powder did shew, *Buckingham* lost not His on the King; and that it was no Fiction, but a Reality, that *Padro Macistria* had formerly told the King.

And now the Prince returns from *Spain*, and all the fault of the Match not succeeding is laid on *Bristol*, who was Ambassador there: And *Buckingham*, from an Accused Man in the former Parliament, came to be the Darling of this Parliament. And in the Banqueting-House, before both Houses of Parliament, does *Buckingham* give an Account at large of his *Spanish* Voyage; and to every full point (as a further Attestation) he saith, *How say you Sir?* To which the Prince answered, *I, Yea, or Yes.* *Bristol* having some Friends that sent Advice of All into *Spain*, He immediately posts into *England*. makes *Buckingham's* Relation and Accusation wholly False and Scandalous, and becomes a great Favorite to King *James*. I shall now bring the Secret Story of this King's Life to an end.

He now goes his last Hunting Journey (I mean the last of the Year, as well as his Life) which He ever ended in *Lent*, and was seized on by an extraordinary

Tertian

Tertian Ague ; yet 'twas not the *Ague*, as himself confessed to many of his Servants ; one of which crying, *Courage Sir, this is but a small Fit, the next will be none at all* : At which he most earnestly looked, and said, *Ah ! it is not the Ague afflicteth me ; but the black Plaster and Powder given me, and laid to my Stomach*. Nor was it fair Dealing, if he had fair Play (which himself suspected, often saying to the Earl of *Montgomery*, whom He trusted above all Men, in his Sickness, *For God's sake look I have fair Play*) to bring in an Emperick to apply any Medicines, whil'st those Physicians appointed to attend him, were at Dinner ; nor could any but *Buckingham* answer it with less than his Life. *Buckingham* visiting the King just as he was at the point of Death, who Mournfully fixt his Eyes on him, as who would have said, You are the Man that has ruin'd me.

It were worth the knowledge what his Confessions was, or what other Expressions he made of Himself, or any other ; but that was only known to the Dead Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, and the then living Bishop *Williams*, and the Lord keeper ; and, it was thought, *Williams* had blabbed something which incensed the King's Anger, and *Buckingham's* Hatred, so much against him, that the loss of his Place could not be expiatory sufficient, but his utter Ruine must be determined.

Now have we brought this King (who stiled himself the *King of Peace*, and put on Morality the 27th of *March*) to rest in all Peace : We shall conclude his Remarks with an *Appendix*, shewing the particulars of a great many Millions of good *English* Money, even to an almost incredible Sum, this King Expended on his fruitless Embassies, B——ng Favorites, Beggarly Scots, Anti-Suppers, Masqueradors, and other Buffoons, even to a far greater Sum than his Predecessor (Queen *Elizabeth* of Happy Memory) Expended in all Her Wars in *Ireland*, and with *Spain*, &c. during Her Forty Four Years Reign.

KING JAMES's LETTER to POPE CLEMENT.

Most Holy Father, having understood by several Reports, how diligent he hath been for consideration have been that the will of your Holiness should be unsheathed against us, and we were constrained by your Prudence both in this and that, as we could do no less than return thanks for such good turn receiv'd; especially upon so far an occasion, when the Bearer of these, a *Servant of Man* by Nation, but a *Roman* by Adoption, was returning unto your Dominion; We recommend him to your Holiness (to whom, for his good Parts, you have been already 'beneficial' that you would attentively hear him in those things which he shall deliver in our Name: And because we know there is no better Remedy against the Calumnies of Ill-willers (who by commemorating our Injuries done to *Catholics* procure Envy to us, and Thanks to themselves) than that some of our Country men, *Zealous of the Truth*, though differing from the Religion which we have sucked from our Infancy should have an Honourable occasion of making their abode in the Court of *ROME*; from whom your Holiness may be certainly informed of the state of our Affairs. In this regard We recommend unto you the Bishop of *Vaxon*; who, as he doth impute whatsoever increase of his conscience to your Holiness alone; so We are earnest Suitors, that for Our sake especially, the Honour of the Cardinals-Cap may be added to his former advantages. By this mean the Calumny of our Enemies will cease, when such are present with you, who may be able to assert the truth of our doing. We do not desire any of our Actions should be concealed from just Arbitrators; for though We have been bred up in the Truth of that Religion which we now profess, yet We have always determined That there is nothing better and safer than piously, and without ostentation, to endeavour the promoting of those things which really belong to the Glory of *GOD's* Name, and laying

ing aside the Goads of Envy, and applying the warmth
and fomentation of Charity, diligently to consider
what belongeth not to the empty name of Religion,
but to the Holy Symbol of true Piety. But because
we have discoursed more at large of these things with
the Bearer hereof, a Man not Unlearned, and indif-
ferently well conversant in our Affairs, we have
thought best to be no more tedious by a long Letter,

Your Holiness's

*From Holy Rood,
Sept. 24. 1599.*

Most Dutiful Sons

JAMES REX.

This Letter was conveyed by *Edward Drummond*, the
Lawyer, whom the King sent to the Pope, the Duke of
Tuskany, the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Princes and
Cardinals.

' *First*, You shall most respectfully Salute, in Our
' Name, the Pope, and those other Princes and Cardi-
' nals: and having delivered our Letters of Credence,
' shall signifie,

' That we exceedingly desire to reserve with them the
' measure of Love and Good Will, which is fitting to
' remove not only all suspicion, but any thing that
' may be the cause of suspicion.

' That altho' we persist in the Religion which we
' sucked from our Infancy, yet we are not so void of
' Charity, but to think well of all Christians if so be
' they continue in their duty first towards God, and
' then towards the Magistrate, whose Subjects they are.

' That we never exercised any Cruelty against the
' *Catholicks* for their Religion.

' And because it doth very much concern us, that
' We may be able to assert the Truth by our Friends
' and

and Subjects, with the same diligence that Slanderers
 Lye; therefore you shall endeavour to the utmost to
 perwade the Pope as well at our Enratty, as for
 the desire of these most Illustrious Princes whom
 in our Letters we have solicited on our behalf, to
 make the Bishop of Paxton Cardinal. where n f you
 be successful as soon as we shall be certified here-
 of we will proceed further. You must be cautious
 not to proceed any farther in this business either w h
 the Pope or the most Illustrious Cardinals, unless
 there be a certain hope of our wished event.

A N



THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF
King CHARLES I.

THE Misfortunes of this Monarch, Son to King *James*, with the uncouth, dismal, and unexpressible Calamities that happened hereupon, was in a great measure caus'd by the Impudent Commissions, and voluntary Omissions of King *James*: As it may justly be said He, like *Adam* by bringing the Crown into so great a Necessity, though professing Purgatory, became the Original of his Son's Fall; who was, in a manner compell'd to stretch out his Hands towards such Gatherings and Taxes as were contrary to Law; by which He fell from the Paradise of a Prince to wit, The Happiness of his People, though the best Politicians extant, might miscarry in their Calculation of a Civil-War, immediately to follow, upon the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in Vindication of the numerous Titles and Opinions then current: Yet the Beggary Rabble attending King *James*, not only at his first coming out of Scotland, but through his whole Reign (like a fluent Spring) found still crossing the River *Tweed*, did so far justify the former conjecture, as it was only thought mistaken in relation to Time.

The first thing this King did, after the performing his Father's Funeral Rights, was the consummating the Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, a Daughter of France, whom He had formerly seen in his Journey, through that Country into Spain.

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The King then call'd a Parliament, who met the 13th of June following; to whom He represented, in a short Speech, *The urgent necessity of raising a Subsidy, to carry on the War with Spain.*

But the Parliament presented first their Two Petitions, concerning *Reasons of Religion*, and *Complaint of their Sufferings*; which Points had been offered to his Father King James: In both which they at present receiv'd satisfaction: Upon which the King obtain'd Two Subsidies to be paid by Protestants, and Four by Papist Laity, and Three from the Clergy.

On the 11th of July, 1629. the Parliament was Adjourned till August the 1st; when the King declared to them the necessity of setting forth a Fleet, for the recovery of the Palatinate: The Lord Treasurer instanced the several Sums of Money King James died Indebted to the City of London; this occasioned very warm Debates in the House of Commons, who alleadged, *That Evil Councils guided the King's Designs: That the Treasury was misemploy'd: That it would be necessary to Petition the King for Honester and Abler Council: That it was not usual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies in one Parliament, and no Grievances Redress'd*; with many other of the like nature. And being incensed against the Duke of Buckingham, they began to think of divesting him of his Office, and to require an account of the publick Money, &c. To prevent which the King Dissolv'd the Parliament.

And now the King is put upon taking up Money upon Loan, of such Persons as were thought of Ability to Lend. To whom Letters were Issued out in the King's Name to excite them to it.

But this not answering, the King Summons a Parliament to sit Feb. 6. and being met, they fell immediately upon Debate of the publick Grievances, much the same as the former.

Then the House of Commons were very busie in searching the Signet Office, for the Original of a Letter under the Signet, written to the Mayor of York for Reprieving divers Priests and Jesuits. This was Reported by Pim, Chairman to the Committee for Religion; but the King immediately demanded a Supply for the English and Irish Forces. This was highly

resented by the Commons, and several sharp Speeches were made in the House.

But notwithstanding, the Commons at last Voted Three Subsidies, and Three Fifteens; and the Bill should be brought in as soon as the Grievances, which were Represented, were Redressed. But the King observing they did not make the haste He expected, sends a sharp Message to them, complains against their Grievances, and Justifies the Duke of Buckingham.

The Commons in Answer, present an high Remonstrance, and justifie themselves.

To which the King sends them Answer, by Finch their Speaker, *That if they did not pass the Bill of Subsidy by the end of the Week following, it would enforce him to take other Resolutions, &c.*

Before the Commons sent an Answer, they Petitioned His Majesty, *That He would be pleased to remove from all Places of Trust and Authority, all such Persons as were either Recusants, or suspected to be such.*

And the Commons then drew up another Declaration of Grievances against the Duke of Buckingham, who being thereat Incensed, Dissolved the Parliament the very next day, June 15. 1626. Then the King's Cabal Council resolv'd on several ways for advancing the King's Revenue: First Levying of Customs and Imposts on all Merchandize. Privy Seals were Issued out, and Benevolences propos'd; and, at length, a Commission for a general Loan was resolv'd on: But the Assesment of the Loan was generally oppos'd; whereupon the people of the lower Rank were ordered to appear in the Military-Yard next St. Martin's in the Fields, before the Lieutenant of the Tower to be Listed for Soldiers; it being then thought necessary, for the better security of the Liberty of the Subject, That those which refus'd to Assist with their Purse, should be forced to Serve in their Persons: Others of better Quality were committed Prisoners to the Fleet, Marshalsea, Gate-House, &c. and among others, Sir J. Elliot, who Petitioned His Majesty, and repeated many Precedents: *That all manner of Taxes, in former King's Reigns, were never Levied, but by consent of Parliament:* However, he was Committed, and Sir P. Heyman, was forc'd to serve the King in the Palatinate.

Dr. Sybithorp and Maynaring, Two Court Preachers, about this time, Preached up the Necessity and Duty of the Loan; one of them asserting, *That the Prince had Power to direct his Council, and make Laws himself*. The other affirmed *That the King's Royal Command, in Imposing of Laws and Taxes, though without consent in Parliament, did oblige the Subjects Conscience, upon pain of Eternal Damnation.*

Which Position was entertain'd with such great Applause at Court, that *Abbot* was Suspended his Archbishopal-See for refusing to License the Sermon wherein it was contained.

In 1627. (being the Third Year of the King's Reign) the Exchequer being very low; and several late Enterprises having miscarried, a Parliament was Called, and on the 27th of March they Assembled; and the King and Lord Keeper, in Two Speeches, earnestly pressed them to consider of some speedy way for supplying his Majesties Necessities. The first thing taken into consideration by the Commons, was the Grievances of the Kingdom: And the first Thing insisted on, was the Case of those Gentlemen for refusing the Loan; and who, notwithstanding their *Habeas Corpus*, were remanded to Prison; and it was Resolv'd in the House, *Nemine Contradicente, That no Man ought to be Restrained by the King or Privy-Council, without some Cause of the Commitment.* Secondly, *That the Writ of Habeas Corpus ought to be granted to every Man upon Request, that is Restrained, on which he ought to be Bayled, if cause of Commitment be not declared.*

Then the Parliament petitioned against Popish Recusants; to which the King gave them a satisfactory Answer. After which, Five Subsidies were granted to the King, which gave him so great Satisfaction, that He sent them word, *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had Granted*: Whereupon the Commons fell upon the Memorable Petition of Right. And when it was presented, the Answer the King gave to it, was not judged Satisfactory by the Commons; and therefore upon their Petition, the King gave them this short, but full Answer, *Let it be done according to your desire.* Which Answer mightily pleased both Houses. And his Majesty for further Satisfaction,

tisfaction, suffered the Commission for Loan and Excise to be Cancelled, and received *Abbot* and *Williams* into his Favour again; so that all Discontents on every side seemed to be Banished.

In 1623. (the Fourth year of the King's Reign) the Parliament drew up a Remonstrance against *Backingham*, *Bishop Neal*, and *Laud*, which they presented to the King, with the Bill of Subsidies; His Majesty told them, *That he expected not such a Return for his favourable Answer to the Petition of Right; and as for the Grievances, he would take time to Consider.* An Information being likewise Exhibited against the Duke in the Star-Chamber. The King, by his express Will and Pleasure, Ordered that it should be taken off the File, and the King resolving to hold up the Duke, Adjourn'd the Parliament to the 20th of *October* following. But soon after, the Duke was Summoned to Answer at a Higher Tribunal, by the means of one *Felton*, a Lieutenant, who stabbed him to the Heart with a Dagger.

The Parliament were further Adjourn'd to *January* 20. in which time the Merchants refusing to pay Custom, had their Goods seized: Complaints thereof being made to the Parliament, the King requires them to pass the promis'd Bill for Tunnage and Poundage; But the Commons answered, *that God's Cause was to be preferred before the King's; and that they would therefore, in the first place, Consult about Religion:* One Committee being for Religion, and another for Civil Matters. At the last, was a Complaint about the Customs, and the Farmers of the Customs were Challenged. But the King vindicated them; and the Parliament being upon proceeding against them as Delinquents, the King Adjourned them till the 10th of *March*. The Commons enraged thereat, blamed their Speaker for admitting the Message, and ordered *Sir J. Elliot* to draw up their Remonstrance; which was in very high Terms, about Tunnage and Poundage, &c. The Substance was as followeth.

1. *Whosoever shall endeavour to Introduce Popery, Arminianism, or other than Orthodox Opinions, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to the Kingdom.*

11. *Whoſoever ſhall Counſel the taking of Tunnage and Poundage, or ſhall yield Voluntary, or Pay the ſame, without being granted by Parliament, ſhall be deemed a Betrayer of, and Enemy to the Liberties of England.*

Theſe things were ſo much diſliked by the King, that he ſent the Uſher of the Black Rod to Diſſolve them, who was not admitted in: Whereupon the King with his Guard of Penſioners, were reſolv'd to force their Entrance; which the Commons having notice of it, they ſuddenly went out of the Houſe: And this was the end of that Parliament.

Some, conſidering that neither this nor the Two former Parliaments complied with the Humour of the King, or Miniſters of State, adviſed the King never to Call another: And to that end, the Famous Book of *Proverbs* was Published, and Addreſſ to the King, propoſing ſome Methods to prevent the Impertinency of Parliaments (as he called them) from time to time, by the Example of *Lewis XI. of France*; who, pretending that the Commons did encroach too much on the Nobility and Clergy, Diſſolv'd it; and never after ſuffered the People freely to Elect their Representatives.

In the Year 1634. The deſign of *Ship-Money* was firſt ſet on foot; and Attorney General *Noy* being conſulted about, he pretends, out of ſome Muſty Records, to find an Ancient Preſident of raiſing a Tax on the Nation, by the Authority of the King alone, for ſetting out a Navy in caſe of danger; which was thereupon put in Execution, though not without great Diſcontent, both among the Clergy and Laity.

Diſcontents in *Scotland* likewise began to Increate; and a Book was Printed and Publiſhed, charging the King with indirect Proceedings, and having a tendency to the *Romish* Belief. And now, to blow up theſe *Scotch* Sparks to a Flame, *C. Richieu* ſent over his Chaplain, and another Gentleman, to heighten their Differences. And ſome time after, viz. the latter end of the Year, 1635. great Differences aroſe about Church-Matters in *England*, chiefly occaſioned by *A. B. Laud's* ſtriſt enjoying many new Ceremonies, not formerly inſiſted on, and now vehemently oppoſ'd, by
thoſe

those called *Puritans*, to whom adhered many of the Episcopal Party.

Several Gentlemen of Quality had refused to pay the Ship-Money; and among the rest, Esquire *Hambden* of *Bucks*; upon which the King refers the whole business to the Twelve Judges, in *Michaelmas-Term*, 1636. Ten of whom gave their Judgments against *Hambden*; but *Hutton* and *Cook* refused it.

The King 1637. Issuing out a Proclamation in *Scotland*, Commanding the use of the Litturgy, Surplice, Altar, &c. there occasioned great Disorders and Tumults among the common People, who, sometime after, with the Gentry, entered into a Solemn League and Covenant, to preserve the Religion then Profest. The Covenant the *Scots* were resolv'd to maintain; and to that purpose, they sent privately for General *Lesly*, and other great Officers from beyond-Sea, providing themselves likewise with Arms, &c. After this, they Elect Commissioners for the general Assembly; whom they cite to move the Arch Bishops and Bishops to appear there, as Guilty Persons; which being refused, the People present a Bill of Complaint against them, to the Presbitery at *Edenburgh*; who accordingly warned them to appear at the next General Assembly: At their Meeting, the Bishops sent in a Protestation against their Assembly; which the Covenanters thought not fit to read: And soon after, they abolished Episcopacy, and then prepared for a War.

On which, the King prepares an Army against them; with which, *Anno* 1639. He Marches in Person into the *North*; but, by the Mediation of some Persons, a Treaty of Peace was begun, but soon broken off. The King therefore considers how to make Provisions for Men and Money; and calling a Secret Cabinet Council, consisting only of *Laud*, *Strafford*, and *Hamilton*; it was concluded, That for the King's Supply, a Parliament must be Called in *England*, and another in *Ireland*.

The *Scots* fore-seeing the Storm, prepared for their own Defence; making Treaties in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and *Poland*: And the Jesuits, who are never Idle, endeavoured to foment.

In the Year 1640. and the Sixteenth of the Kings Reign, a Parliament was Called, in which the King presses them for a speedy Supply, to Suppress (what he calls) the Violences of the Scots; but this Parliament not complying with the Kings desire, were, by the advice of the *Juncto*, Dissolved, having only sat Twenty Two Days.

Land, by his violent Proceedings against those called *Puritans*, and by his strict enjoining of Old, unobserv'd Ceremonies, which by many were thought *Popish*, procured to himself much Hatred from the generality of People; That upon May 9. 1640. a Paper was fixt on the *Royal-Exchange*, inciting the Prentices to go and Sack his House at *Lambeth*, the *Munday* after, but the Arch-Bishop had notice of their Design, and provided accordingly; that at the time when they came, endeavouring to enter his House, they were Repulsed.

The King calls a select *Juncto* to consult about the Scots, where the Earl of *Strafford* deliver'd his Mind, in such terms as afterwards prov'd his ruine. War against them was resolv'd on, and Money was to be procured one way or other: The City was Invited to Lend, but absolutely refus'd; Some of the Gentry contributed indifferent freely: So that with their assistance the Army was compleated; the King himself being *Generalissimo*, marches his Army into the North, where was some Action, in which the Scots had the Better. A Treaty is then set on foot, and at last concluded; the chief Conditions for the calling a Parliament in England, who accordingly Met, Nov. 3. 1640. And the King in his Speech tells them, That the Scottish Troubles were the cause of their Meeting, and therefore requires them to consider of the most expedient means for casting them out; and desired a Supply from them for the maintaining of his Army.

The Commons began with the Voting down all Monopolies; and all such Members as had any benefit by them, were Voted out of the House: They then Voted down Ship-Money, with the Opinion of the Judges thereupon, to be Illegal; and a charge of High-Treason was ordered to be drawn up against Eight of them, and they begun with the Keeper *Finch*, Decemb. 11. Alderman *Pennington*, and some hundreds of Citizens,

tizens, presented a Petition, subscribed by 15000 Hands, against Church Discipline and Ceremonies; and then the Commons Voted, ' That the Clergy in a Convocation, have no power to make Canons or Laws without Parliaments; and that the Canons are against the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, the King's Prerogative, and the Property of the Subject, the right of Parliaments; and tend to Faction and Sedition.

In pursuance hereof, a Charge was ordered to be drawn up against A. B. *Laud*, and others, and after Voted Guilty of High-Treason, and sent to the *Tower*.

The *Scots* likewise preferred a Charge against the A. Bishop and the Earl of *Strafford*, requiring Justice against them both, as the great Incendiaries and Disturbers both of Church and State.

On *Munday March 26. 1640.* the Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal began in *Westminster Hall*, the King, Queen, and Prince being present; and the Commons being there likewise as a Committee, at the managing their Accusation; the chief of whom was *Pym*; the Earl made a long defence, but the Commons were resolved to Prosecute him to Death, and to proceed against him by Bill of Attainder, which they proceeded to Dispatch. And upon the 25th of *April* they passed the Bill, and a few days after the Lords did likewise.

The Bill being finished, and the King willing to save the Earl, *May 21.* makes a Speech to Both Houses in the Earl's behalf, and so Dismissed them to their great Discontent: Which was propagated so far, that *May 23.* were 1000 Citizens, most of them Arm'd, came thronging to *Westminster*, crying out for Justice against the Earl of *Strafford*. On *Sunday* following the King consulted the Judges, and several Bishops.

Munday May 10. The King gives Commission to several Lords to Pass Two Bills; One the Bill of Attainder against *Strafford*; the Other, for continuing the Parliament during the pleasure of Both Houses.

The next Day the King writes a Letter to the House, to excuse his not Signing *Strafford's* Execution. But the Commons would not be satisfied until the Bill was sign'd.

The

The Fall of this great Man, startled many other Officers of State, and occasioned the resigning their Places.

August 6. Both the *English* and *Scotch* Armies were Disbanded; and Four days after, the King went towards *Scotland*, and was entertain'd with great demonstrations of Affection by that Nation, and conferred several Places of Honour and Power upon divers of them: He confirm'd likewise the Treaty between the Two Nations, by Act of Parliament.

Octob. 23. 1641. The Horrid and Notorious Massacre and Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. At which time the *Irish*, to dishearten the *English* from any Resistance, asserted, *That the Queen was with their Army; That the King would come amongst them also and assist them: That they did but maintain His Cause against the Puritans: That they had the King's Commission for what they did.* Whether these Assertions were true or false, we shall not pretend to determine, but leave it to the Readers own Sentiments, only we beg leave to insert here, by way of Parenthesis, a Letter sent to the Pope, by order of *Charles II.* when he had taken the Covenant, and was professing the *Presbyterian* Religion in *Scotland*; it was carried thither, and pressed forward by one *Dallie* an *Irish* Priest, and Confessor to the then Queen of *Portugal*, under the Title of *Propositions and Motives for, and on the behalf of the most invincible K. of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, to Pope Innocent the X. in the Year of Jubilee, 1650.* which *Dallie*, taking *France* in his way, spake with the Queen Mother, and receiv'd her Directions for the better management of the Affair.

MOST BLESSED FATHER.

OUR Agent, at present Residing at *Rome*, with all Humility, shews your Holiness, That the principal Cause and Occasion of that Regicide, Tyrannically perpetrated upon the Person of *Charles the First*, Father of the fore said *Charles the Second*, by His Rebels and cruel Subjects (the like whereof was never heard of from the beginning of the World, not only among Civil Nations, but even among the most Barbarous them-

themselves) have been the Graces, Favours, and Con-
 cessions, so often and so many ways extended to the
 Catholick Religion, and the Asserters and Professors
 thereof, in the Kingdom both of *England* and *Ireland*:
 The Truth of which appears in that the aforesaid
 Charles the First gave Authority to the Marquis of
 Ormond, by several Commissions, for the Establishing
 and Perfecting all Conditions with the Confederate
 Catholicks of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of sufficient
 Security for the Catholick Faith. Furthermore, the
 said Charles the First, fearing lest the said Ormond
 (being an Heretick) should not satisfie the said Con-
 federates in all things, He sent thither the Marquis
 of Worcester, a Man truly and wholly Catholick, with
 a more ample Commission; in which Commission,
 the said Marquis of Worcester had full Authority of
 concluding a Peace with the said Confederate Catho-
 licks, and of giving them Conditions altogether sa-
 tisfatory, as well concerning Liberty of Religion, as
 also as to other Injuries that had been done unto
 them; which the said Marquis of Worcester, making
 with them an absolute Peace, did abundantly fulfil.

Further, This appeareth in that the said Charles
 the First, even in *England* it self, did by Commissions
 set the Catholicks, namely, the said Marquis of Wor-
 cester, Sir Arthur Ashton, and many others, over His
 Armies; and made them Governors of Cities, Castles,
 and Strong-Holds, notwithstanding the Clamour of
 the People against it, and which was not a slight mo-
 tive of the Regicide committed upon him, whereby it
 appears, that although the said King Charles the First
 dyed not a Catholick, yet he dyed for them.

Again (most Blessed Father!) the same Agent most
 humbly represents, That the present King Charles II.
 the true and undoubted Heir of the foresaid Charles I.
 and of all His Kingdoms (to whom the said King-
 doms belong of Right according to that of *Christ*,
Give to Caesar the things that are Caesars) while His
 Father yet lived, was known to have good and true
 Inclinations to the Catholick Faith, following which,
 and going on in his Fathers steps, he did not only re-
 commend it to the Marquis of Ormond, but gave it
 him in Express Command to satisfie in all things the
 Con-

' Confederate *Catholicks* in *Ireland*, name'y, That he
 ' should grant them the free exercise of their Religion;
 ' That he should Abrogate the Penal Laws made a-
 ' gainst them; and that he should restore to the said
 ' *Catholicks*, whether Laicks or Ecclesiasticks, their
 ' Lands, Estates, Possessions, or what other Rights did
 ' at any time belong unto them, and by the said Laws
 ' had been unjustly taken away. In Obedience to
 ' which Commands, the said Marquis, in the Name,
 ' and by the Authority of the said Two Kings, name'y,
 ' *Charles* the First and Second, made and concluded a
 ' firm Peace with the said Confederate *Catholicks*: By
 ' the conclusion of which Peace, the said present King
 ' and all his Dominions, hath involved himself with
 ' the *Catholicks* in an Irreconcilable War against the
 ' *Parliamentarian Regicides* of *England*, whose Blood
 ' therefore the said cruel Tyrants insatiably thirst af-
 ' ter, as they did after His Fathers.

' The said Agent further offers to your Holiness,
 ' That the inhuman Regicides do wickedly Usurp to
 ' themselves in the Dominions afore mentioned, all
 ' the Authority of the King; do most cruelly Perse-
 ' cute all the *Catholicks* both in *England* and *Ireland*,
 ' partly by Condemning them to Banishment; partly
 ' by thrusting them into Prisons, and otherwise corpo-
 ' rally punishing them; and lastly, by putting them to
 ' Death; a Witness of the Truth hereof, is that great
 ' Slaughter made by *Cromwel*, in the taking of the
 ' Two Cities of *Droghedah* and *Wexford*, and other
 ' Places, where all the *Catholicks*, without distinct on-
 ' of either Sex or Age, were Slaughtered; Witness
 ' hereof also the raging Persecution and Death of *Catholicks*
 ' in *England*; by all which, and by their *Par-*
 ' *liamentarian* Decrees themselves, and their Covenant
 ' with God (as they call it) it is evident, even beyond
 ' the clearness of the light of the shining Sun, That
 ' these Tyrannical Regicides do ultimately intend and
 ' put forth all their Power for the utter Destruction of
 ' all *Catholicks*, and to extirpate by the Root, and
 ' wholly to extinguish the *Catholic* Faith throughout
 ' the World, openly asserting and boasting with great
 ' Glory, that these things being once finished in those
 ' Dominions, they will then Invade *France*, and after
 ' that

that run through *Germany, Italy, and all Europe*, throwing down Kings and Monarchs, whose very Titles are most odious and abhorrent unto them: Briefly, they have no other thing in their Aim than these Two, Namely, The extirpation of the *Catholick Religion*, and the destruction of Monarchy: To which wicked Machination of theirs, forasmuch as it could never have any the least Hopes, that either the King or his Father should at any time in the least Assent, they have put the one to Death, and the other to Exile: And these Rebels now, with a nefarious boldness, have lately called themselves a Common-wealth.

‘To meet with and prevent the Infernal Endeavours of such Rebels, our Agent most humbly offers to your Holiness, the following Propositions.

1. ‘That your Holiness would make an annual Supply out of your own Treasury, unto the said *Charles the Second*, of considerable Sums of Money, suitable to the maintaining the War against those Rebels, against God, the Church, and Monarchy.

2. ‘That you would cause and compel the whole Beneficed Clergy in the World, of whatsoever Dignity, Degree, State and Condition soever, to contribute the Third or the Fourth part of all their Fruits, Rents, Revenues, or Emoluments to the said War, as being Universal and Catholick. And that the said Contribution may be paid every Three Months, or otherwise, as shall seem most expedient to your Holiness.

3. ‘That by your Apostolick Nuncio’s, your Holiness would most instantly endeavour, with all Princes, Common-wealths, and Catholick States, that the said Princes, Common-wealths, and States, may be Admonished in the Bowels of *Jesus Christ*, and induced to enter into, and conclude an Universal Peace, and that they will unitedly supply the said King. And that they will by no means acknowledge the said Regicides and Tyrants for a Common-wealth or State; nor enter into, or have any Commerce with them.

4. ‘That by the said Nuncio’s, or any other way, all, and every the Monarchs of all *Europe* may be timely admonished, and made sensible in this Cause;

‘where

' wherein, beside the detriment of the Faith, their own
 ' proper Interest is concerned: The foresaid Tyrants
 ' being Sworn Enemies to all Monarchy, as they them-
 ' selves do openly assert, both by Word and Writing;
 ' and to that end, both in *Germany, Spain, France,*
 ' *Poland, &c.* and in the very Dominions of the great
 ' *Turk*, they have raised dangerous Insurrections; being
 ' raised, they foment them, and to that purpose, they
 ' supply the Charge, and make large Contributions
 ' to it.

5. ' That your Holiness would Command, under pain
 ' of Excommunication, *Ipso facto*, all and singular
 ' *Catholicks*, That neither they, nor any of them, di-
 ' rectly nor indirectly, by Land or by Sea, do serve
 ' them in Arms, or assist them by any Counsel, or to
 ' help to favour or supply them any way, under what-
 ' soever pretext.

' Holy Father! The premised Remedies ate timely
 ' to be applied, by which the *Catholick* Faith, now ex-
 ' posed to extream and eminent Hazzard, may be
 ' conserv'd, and infinite number of *Catholicks* may be
 ' preserv'd from Destruction, Monarchy may be esta-
 ' blished, and the most invincible King of Great Brit-
 ' tain restor'd to his Rights: All which things will
 ' bear your Holiness to Heaven with their Praises,
 ' whom God long conserve in safety, &c.

' The Propositions and Motives abovesaid (if occa-
 ' sion be) our Agent will more largely set forth
 ' *Viva voce*.

This Letter, as it seems to clear a great portion of
 Doubts, and Suspicions of *Charles the II.* Integrity to
 the *Protestant* Religion; so it is a shrew'd Argument,
 that all that glistered in this King and his Father, was
 not Gold. But I must beg the Readers Pardon for
 this long digression.

The Lords Justices sent Sir *H. Spotswood* from *Dub-*
lin, to the King then in *Scotland*, with an Account of
 all that happened. He dispatched Sir *J. Stuart*, with
 Instructions to the Lords of the Privy-Council in
Ireland. He applied himself to the Parliament of
Scotland (as being near) for their Assistance. And an
 Express was sent to the Parliament of *England*.

The King being returned out of *Scotland*, December 2d. Summoned both Houses together, and tells them; That he had staid in *Scotland* longer then he expected, yet not fruitlessly; for He had given full Satisfaction to the Nation; but cannot chuse but take Notice of, and wonder at the unexpected Distractions He finds at Home; and then Commends to them the State of *Ireland*.

After which, the Commons ordered a Select Committee to Draw up a Petition and Remonstrance to the King. The one was against Bishops, and Oppressures in Church Government; and for Punishing the Authors of it. And the other contained all the Miscarriages and Misfortunes, since the beginning of the King's Reign.

Not long after happened the Tumults of the *London* Apprentices at *White-Hall*, and *Westminster*.

December 28. the King sends a Message to the Lords, That He would raise Ten Thousand Volunteers for *Ireland*, provided the Commons would Pay them.

Some time after, the King upon Information, that the Lord *Kimbolton*, and Five of the House of Commons, viz. *Hollis*, Sir *A. Haslerig*, Mr. *Pym*, *Hambden* and *Stroud*, had Correspondence with the *Scots*, and Countenanced the late City Tumults; He thereupon Ordered their Trunks, Studies and Chambers to be Sealed up, and their Persons seised; the former of which was done, but they having timely Notice, they went aside: Upon which the Commons, the same day, Voted high against these Actions of the King. Hereupon the King Charges *Kimbolton* and the Five Members, with several Articles; and acquaints both Houses, That He did intend to Prosecute them for High Treason; and required that their Persons might be Secured: And the next day the King, attended with his Guard of Pensioners, and some Hundreds of Gentlemen, went to the House of Commons; and the Guard staying without, the King with the Pallgrave, entred the House; at whose Entrance, the Speaker rises out of the Chair, and the King sitting down therein, views the Houses round, and perceives the Birds He aimed at were flown; whereupon He tells them, That He came to look for those Five Members, whom he had Accused of High

Treason; and was resolved to have them, where ever He found them; and expected to have them sent to Him, as soon as they should come to the House; but would not have them think, that this Act of His was any Violation of Parliament.

This Act of the King was so highly Resented by the House, that the next day, *January 5.* the Commons Voted it a Breach of Priviledge: And it was said in the City, that the King intended Violence against the House of Commons, and came thither with Force to Murther several Members; and used threatning Speeches against the Parliament.

The next day the Londoners came thronging to *Westminster* with Petitions, inveighing bitterly against some of the Peers; but especially the Bishops, as the Authors of all these Disturbances: Upon which they were so affrighted, that Twelve Bishops absented themselves from the House of Lords, drawing up a Protestation against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves Null, and of none Effect, which had Passed, or should Pass, during their Absence. Presently after which, at a Conference between both Houses, it was agreed, That this Protestation of the Twelve Bishops, did extend to the deep Intrenching on the Fundamental Priviledges, and Being of Parliaments: And, in a short time, they were Accused of High Treason, Seised, and brought on their knees at the Lords Bar: Ten of whom were Committed to the Tower; and the other Two, in regard of their Age, to the Black Rod.

And now such Numbers of ordinary People daily gathered about *Westminster* and *White-Hall*, that the King (fearing their Intentions) thought fit to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*. The next day, the Five Members were Triumphantly guarded to *Westminster*, by a great Number of Citizens and Seamen; with Hundreds of Boats and Barques. About this time the Parliament had Notice, that the Lord Digby, and Col. Lunsford, were raising Troops of Horse at *Kingston*, where the County Magazine was lodged: Whereupon they Order, That the County Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and the Trained Bands, shall take care to Secure the Counties and their Magazines. Lunsford was Seised and sent

sent to the *Tower*, but *Digby* escaped beyond Sea.

The King removed to *Reyston*, and January 20. He sends a Message to the Parliament, proposing the Security of his own Rights and Prerogative; and as to matter of their Grievances, He would equal or exceed the most Indulgent Princes in Compliance with them.

After this the House of Commons importune the King to put the Militia and Command of the *Tower* into their Hands; as the only available Means, for the removal of their Fears and Jealousies. But the King not willing to Comply with their desire, signified to them, that He thought the Militia to be lawfully subject to no Command but his own; and therefore would not let it go out of his Hands, it being Derived to Him from his Ancestors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

The King being now at *Hampton Court*, sent for the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland*, and other Members of Both Houses, that were his Domesticks, but they refused to come. In the mean time, Mr. *Pym*, at a Conference, complaining of the general flocking of *Papists* into *Ireland*, affirmed, That since the Lieutenant had ordered a stop upon the Ports, against all *Irish Papists*, many of the chief Commanders now at the Head of the Rebels, had been Licensed to pass thither by the King's immediate Warrant. The King was highly offended at this Speech, which he signified to the House, who, in their Answer to his Message, justify Mr. *Pym's* words to be the sense of the House; and that they had yet in safe Custody, the Lord *Delvin*, Sir *G. Hamilton*, Colonel *Butler*, and Mr. *Netterville*: To which the King replies, That the aforementioned Persons had their Passages granted before He knew of the Parliament's Order of Restraint; therefore expected their Declaration for his Vindication from that odious Calumny of Conniving, or under-hand Favouring that horrid Rebellion.

But the King's desire proved fruitless; for they next moved to have Sir *J. Byron* turned out from being Lieutenant of the *Tower*; and, at their nomination, Sir *J. Coniers* succeeded.

They then proceed to Name fit Persons for Trust of the Militia, of the several Counties, particularly that

for the Defence of the City of *London*, the *Parliament*, and the *Tower*, to be Commanded by Major General *Skitterton*.

The King had deferred His Answer to their Petition, for setting the Militia of the Counties, according to their nomination, till his Return from *Dover*, where He took leave of his Wife and Daughter, and so returned to *Greenwich*, where He being Arrived, sends his Answer to the Petition about the Militia; That He was willing to divest Himself of the Power of the County Militia for a limited Time, but not of *London* and other Cities and Corporations. This Answer did not, in the least, satisfy; so that the Breach growing every day wider, the King declined these Parts and the Parliament, and removed to *Theobald's*.

About the beginning of *March* He receives a Petition from the Parliament; wherein they require the Militia more sorely than before; affirming, That in case of denial, the eminent dangers would constrain them to dispose of it by the Authority of Parliament; desiring also, That He would make his Abode near *London*, and the Parliament, for the better carrying on of Affairs, and preventing the Peoples Jealousies and Fears. All which being refused, they presently Order^d; That the Nation be put into a posture of Defence, in such a way as was agreed upon by Parliament; and a Committee to prepare a publick Declaration from these Heads.

1. The just Causes of the Fears and Jealousies given to the Parliament; at the same time clearing themselves from any Jealousies conceived against Himself.

2. To consider of all Matters arising from His Majesties Message, and what was fit to be done.

And now began our Troubles, and all the Miseries of a Civil-War: The Parliament every day entertaining new Jealousies and Suspicions of the Kings Actions; They now proceed on a suddain, to make great Preparations both by Sea and Land: And the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*, is commanded to Rig the Kings Ships, and fit them for Sea: And likewise all Masters and Owners of Ships were perswaded to do the like. The Beacons were prepared, Sea marks set up, and extraordinary Postings up and down with Pacquets: All sad Prognosticks of the Calamities ensuing.

August

August 22. 1642. The King comes to *Nottingham*, and there Erects his Standard; to which some Numbers resorted, but far short of what was expected. And three days after, the King sends a Message to the Parliament, to propose a Treaty, which was accepted, but quickly broke off again.

The War being now begun, the New raised Soldiers committed many Outrages upon the Country People; which both King and Parliament, upon complaint, endeavour to Rectifie. The King himself was now *Generalissimo* over his Own: And the Earl of *Essex* for the Parliament: The Kings Forces received the first Repulse at *Hull*, by Sir J. *Hotham*, and Sir J. *Meldram*; and the King takes up his Quarters at *Shrewsbury*: *Portsmouth* was next Surrendered to the Parliament; and presently after, Sir J. *Biron* takes *Worcester* for the King. In *Sept.* the Two Princes Palatines, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, Arrived in *England*, who were presently Entertained, and put into Command by the King.

This uncivil Civil-War was carried on in general with all the Ruines and Desolations imaginable; wherein all Bonds of Religion, Alliance, and Friendship were utterly destroyed: Wherein Fathers and Children, Kindred and Acquaintances, became unnatural Enemies to each other. In which miserable Condition this Nation continued for near Four Years, viz. From *August* the 22. 1642. (the time the King set up his Standard at *Nottingham*) to *May* the 6. 1646. (the time when the King, quitting all Hopes, put Himself into the Protection of the *Scotch* Army at *Newark*.) During this process of Time, several Messages past, divers Treaties set on foot, and other Overtures of Accommodation, but all came to no effect.

The War in *England* being now (after so much Bloodshed and Ruine) brought to some end, the Parliament were at leisure to dispute with the *Scots*, concerning the keeping of the King; who, fearing least *Fairfax* should fall upon them, and compel them to deliver Him up, Retreated farther Northwards, towards *New-Castle*: The Parliament sent an Invitation to the Prince of *Wales*, to come to *London*, with promise of Honour and Safety; but He did not think fit to venture. The King sends from *New-Castle* to the Army, about a

Treaty ; and the House of Commons Vote, That the Kings Person should be demanded of the *Scots*, and that their whole Army return home, upon Receipt of part of their Arrears, the rest to be sent after them : And a Committee is appointed to Treat with the *Scotch* Commissioners, about drawing up Propositions to be sent to the King ; wherein much Time was spent in Wrangling, whilst the *English* deny the *Scots* to have any Right in the disposal of the King of *England* ; and the *Scots* as stiffly alledged, He was their King as much as of the *English* ; and they had as good right to dispose of the King in *England*, as the *English* could Challenge in *Scotland* : But at last they agreed on Sixteen general Propositions, which were Presented to the King at *New-Castle*, July 27. 1646. But these Propositions were such that the King did not think fit to comply withal.

The *Scots* general Assembly sent a Remonstrance to the King, desiring Him to settle Matters in *England*, according to the Covenant, &c. But all this did not do ; and therefore the *Scots*, who had hitherto so sharply disputed about the disposal of the King's Person, are content, upon the Receipt of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds to depart Home, and leave the King in the Power of the *Parliament*, who Voted him to *Holmby-House*, and sent their Commissioners to receive Him from the *Scots* at *Newcastle* : To whom, Feb. 8. 1646. he was accordingly delivered ; and the *Scots* returned home.

Some Petitions from *Essex*, and other Places, are presented to the *Parliament*, inveighing against the Proceedings of the Army, which much vexed the Soldiers, who sharply Apologize for themselves.

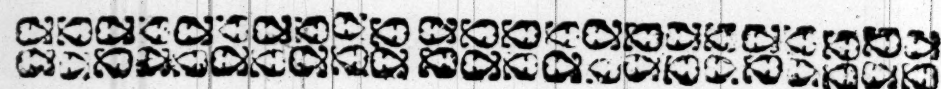
And now the Army, to the great Terror of the *Parliament*, March towards *London*, and came as far as *St. Alban's*, notwithstanding a Message from Both Houses, not to come within Twenty Five Miles of the City ; which the General excused, saying, That the Army was come thither before they receiv'd the *Parliament's* Desire : And here he obtains a Months Pay : The *Parliament* then drew up Propositions of Peace to be sent to the King at *Hampton Court* ; the same in substance with those offered at *Newcastle*, and had the like effect :

The

The business of Episcopacy being always the main Objection, which the Parliament were resolved to Abolish; and the King preferring that before all other Respects, would rather lose All, than consent thereunto.

The Scots Commissioners send a Letter, *Novemb. 6. 1647.* to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and require, That the King may be admitted to a personal Treaty; or at least, That He should not be carried from *Hampton-Court* violently, but that Commissioners of Both Parliaments may freely pass to and from Him to Treat for the Settlement of the Kingdom. After which, divers Messages pass between the King and the Parliament; and several Conferences were set on foot, particularly that of *Henderson's*; but they proving fruitless, the Parliament, with most of the Officers of the Army that joyned with them, brought the King to a Tryal, by a Judicature of their own setting up, which proved His Ruine.

T H E



THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF
King CHARLES II.

WHEN CHARLES the Second was restored to the Thrones of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, never any Monarch in the World came to the Possession of so large a Dominion with more Advantages to have done good for Himself, to his Subjects at Home, and to his Allies Abroad: The People all experienced in Martial Discipline, as having but newly sheathed the Sword of Civil War, and Foreign Conquest: so that their Valour was dreaded abroad, wherever he should have menac'd an Enlargement of his Territories: Besides all this, he had the Love of his Subjects, equal if not Superior, to any Prince that ever Reigned before him: And he had the Affection of his Parliament, to the highest degree.

But after all this, he was no sooner settled in his Throne, but through the Influence of Evil Counsellors, upon a Disposition naturally Vicious, and easily corrupted with Effeminate Pleasures, he abandoned himself to all manner of Softness and Voluptuous Enjoyments, and harbouring in his Bosome the worst of Vices, base Ingratitude, Betrayed himself, that he might Betray his People; for where the Constitution of a Nation is such, That the Laws of the Land are the Measures both of the Sovereign's Commands, and the Obedience of the Subjects; whereby it is provided, That as the one is, not to invade, what by Concessions
and

Stipulations is granted to the Ruler, so the other is not to deprive them of their Lawful and determined Rights and Liberties: There the Prince who strives to Subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Society is the Traitor and the Rebel, and not the People, who endeavour to Preserve and Defend their own. Nor must we ascribe the Miscarriages of his Reign altogether to the remissness of his Nature, but to a Principle of Revenge, which his Mother had infused into him, not so much for the loss of her Husband, but out of her inbred Malice to the Protestant Religion, which no where flourished in that Splendor as in *England*, fostered and cherished by the vow'd Enemy of this Nation, his Brother the Duke of York, who had been openly heard to declare in his Bed-Chamber at St. James's, That he was resolved to be Revenged upon the *English* Nation for the Death of his Father; and what an ascendant this Brother had over him, the whole Kingdom has felt by sad and woful Experience: For indeed the King had all along an Affection for him, so entire, and baneful to the Nation, that he could only be said to Reign, while his Brother Ruled. With all these Royal Vertues, and imbred and fomented Animosities, to render him at his Return, a Gracious Sovereign to this Kingdom, let us trace him from his Cradle to find out those Princely Endowments, which invisibly encreasing with him as he grew in Years, dazled in such a manner the Eyes of the doting Politicians of that Age, to recal him, against that known and vulgar Maxim of *Common Prudence*,

— *Regnabit sanguine multo*
Ad Regnum quisquis unit ab illo.

When he was but very Young, he had a very strange and unaccountable Fondness to a Wooden Billet, without which in his Arms he would never go abroad, nor lie down in his Bed: From which the more observing sort of People gathered, That when he came to Years of Maturity, either Oppressors and Blockheads would be his greatest Favorites; or else, that when he came to Reign, he would either be like *Jupiter's Log*, for every Body to deride and contemn; or that he would rather chuse to Command his People with a Club, than Rule them

them with a Scepter. And indeed, They that made the first and last conjectures, found in due time they were not all together in the wrong. For the Throne was no sooner empty by the Death of his Father, before he could be permitted to seat himself in it, but he gave the World a plain discovery what sort of People they were, who when he came to Reign, were most likely to have the Principal Room in his Favour and Trust, and by whose Assistance he was in hopes to Tyrannize over his *English* and *Scottish* Subjects, particularly those of the *Latter*.

For when the Parliament of *Scotland* sent for him as he was then Cruising about *Guernsey*, to Treat about receiving him to be their King, he would not so much as transact with them, till he had first sent into *Ireland*, to assure himself whether those Rebels, who had Murthered no less than Two Hundred Thousand *Protestants*, were in a Condition or no, for him to cast himself upon their Assistance. But those hopes failing, in regard they were in a fair way to be Subdued themselves, he was at length inclin'd to entertain the Overture made him by the *Scots*. And yet even then was his Mind so full fraught with the thoughts of Despotical Dominion, and purposes of introducing *Papery* into his Territories, that had it not been for the Prince of *Orange*, he would never have complied with the Terms which the *Scots* had ordered to Propose, tho' no other than what were necessary for the Security of the Lives, Liberties, Laws, and Religion of his People. And how he employed his Wooden Billet afterwards, may easily be understood by his many Acts of Barbarous Tyranny over those poor People.

This Prince began early in Hypocrisie and Breach of Promise: For the confirmation of which, to be a certain Truth, there needs no more than to lay the Foundation of the Proof upon his own Words and solemn Engagements. For in the King's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, just before his Restoration, he has these Words:

'We assure you, upon our Royal Word, That none of our Predecessors have had a greater Esteem for Parliaments than We have, as well in Our Judgment as from our Obligation. We do believe them to be

‘ so Vital a part of the Constitution of the Kingdom,
 ‘ and so necessary for the Government of it, that We
 ‘ well know, neither Prince nor People can be in any
 ‘ tollerable degree happy without them; and therefore
 ‘ you may be confident, That We shall always look
 ‘ upon their Counsels, as the best We can receive, and
 ‘ shall be as tender of their Priviledges, and as careful
 ‘ to Preserve and Protect them, as of that which is most
 ‘ near to Our self, and most necessary for Our own Pre-
 ‘ servation.

This in part demonstrates his Prevarication with Man.
 Now for his Prevarication with Heaven, we must pro-
 duce another Paragraph of the same Letter, wherein
 he uses these flattering Expressions:

‘ If you desire the Advancement and Propagation of
 ‘ the *Protestant* Religion, We have, by Our constant
 ‘ Profession of it, given sufficient Testimony to the
 ‘ World, That neither the Unkindness of those of the
 ‘ same Faith towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obli-
 ‘ gations from those of a contrary Profession, could in
 ‘ the least startle Us, or make Us swerve from it; and
 ‘ nothing can be proposed to manifest Our Zeal and
 ‘ Affection for it, to which We will not readily assent.
 ‘ And we hope, in due time, Our Self, to propose some-
 ‘ thing to you for the Propagation of it, that will satis-
 ‘ fie the World, that We have always made it both Our
 ‘ Care and Study, and have enough observed, what is
 ‘ most like to bring Disadvantage to it.

Now as for his Veneration for *Parliaments*, or his
 Zeal for the *Reformed*, or truly any Religion, the Suc-
 ceeding transactions of his Reign, which are to be re-
 lated, will plainly make it appear how far those words
 were from his Heart, when dictated by his Lips.

To shew that this Prince was a great Lover of Co-
 medies and Enterludes, and could act his part with eie
 a *Moon* or *Lacy* of them all, there is a Story must not
 be omitted which may serve to light us into the occa-
 sion, how he came to gain the addition of Pious: O-
 therwise, as it is impossible for us to give any Account
 why *Virgil* so often gives the Epithet of Pious to his
 Hero *Aeneas*, after he had so dishonourably Cheated,
 and broke his Faith with Queen *Dido*; so it is as little
 to be expected, that we should afford a reason why

Charles

Charles the Second should be so universally dignified with the name of Pious, after such a prank of Hypocrisie as we are going to relate: The Story is this,

While he lay at *Breda*, daily expecting the *English* Navy for his Transportation; the Dissenting Party fearing the worst, thought it but reasonable to send a select number of their most eminent Divines, to wait upon his Majesty in *Holland*, in order to get the most advantageous Promises from him they could, for the Liberty of their Consciences. Of the number of these Divines, Mr. *Case* was one, who, with the rest of his Brethren, coming where the King lay, and desiring to be admitted into the King's Presence, were carried up into the Chamber, next (or very near) the King's Closet, but told withal, That the King was busie at his Devotions, and that till he had done they must be contented to stay. Being thus left alone (by contrivance no doubt) and hearing a sound of groaning Piety, such was the curiosity of Mr. *Case*, that he would needs go and lay his Ear to the Closet door: But Heavens! how was the good Old Man ravish'd, to hear the Pious Ejaculations that fell from the King's Lips.—*Lord, Since thou art pleas'd to restore me to the Throne of my Ancestors, grant me a Heart constant in the Exercise and Protection of Thy true Protestant Religion. — Never may I seek the Oppression of those, who out of the Tenderness of their Consciences, are not free to conform to outward and indifferent Ceremonies.* With a great deal more of the same Cant; which Mr. *Case* having overheard, full of Joy and Transport returning to his Brethren, with Hands and Eyes to Heaven up lifted, fell a Congratulating the Happiness of Three Nations, over which the Lord had now placed a Saint of Paradise for their Prince. After which the King coming out of the Closet, the deluded Ministers were ready to prostitute themselves at his Feet; and then it was that the King gave them those Promises of his Favour and Indulgence, which how well he after performed, they felt to their Sorrow.

Soon after he arrived in *England*, where he was receiv'd with all the Pomp, Splendor, and Joy that a Nation could express; but then, as if he had left all his Piety behind him in *Holland*, care was taken against the

the very first Night that his Sacred Majesty was to lie at *White-Hall*, to have the Lady *Castlemain* seduced from her Loyalty to her Husband, and enticed into the Arms of the happily restored Prince.

Thus, from the first hour of his Arrival into these Kingdoms, he set himself too much by his own Persuasion and Influence, to withdraw both Men and Women from the Laws of Nature and Morality, and to Pollute and Infect the People with Debauchery and Wickedness. He that ought to have shown like the *North-Star* in the Firmament of Royalty, to direct his Subjects in the Paths of Vertue, was the sovereign *Ignis fatuus* to misguide them into all the Snares of Ruine and Perdition: Execrable Oaths were the chief Court Acknowledgments of a Deity, Fornications and Adulteries the Principal Tests of the Peoples Loyalty and Obedience.

Certain it is, That the Kingdom was never in a better Posture for the King to work upon it, than at the time of his return into *England*: For such were the Contests for Superiority, among those who had taken upon them the Government, after the Death of *Oliver*; such the Confusions and Disorders that from thence arose, that no body could probably see where would be the end of the general Distraction, unless it were by reducing all things to their primitive Condition, under a Prince whose Title was so fair to the Crown: For which all Parties were the more inflamed, by the King's reiterated Oaths, Promises, and Declarations to those of the Church of *England*, to maintain the *Protestants* Religion; to the Dissenters, that he would Indulge their Tender Consciences with all the Liberty they could rationally desire: And so infatuated they were with these Ingratiating Wheedles, that should that man knew him beyond-Sea, both at *Colen* and in *Flanders*, have spoken their Discoveries with the Voices of Angels; nay, should the Letter which he Wrote with his own Hand in the Year Sixty Two, to the Pope, have been shewn them in Capital Letters, they would have been all looked upon but as Fictitious, and Inventions to obstruct the Happiness of the Nation.

The King was not ignorant, that (in order to bring his intended Designs about) he was furnished already

with a Stock of Gentlemen, who being forced to share the misfortunes of his Exiles and consequently no less imbittered against those whom they looked upon as their Oppressors, he had moulded many of them to his own Religion and Interest, by Corrupting them in their Banishment with him; insomuch, that a certain Gentleman offered to prove, one day in the Pensionary House of Commons, That of all the Persons (yet Persons of all Ranks and Qualities) who sojourned with the King Abroad, there were scarce any then alive, except Prince Rupert, Lord M. and Mr. H. Coventry, who had not been prevailed upon by his Majesty to— Nor could their being restored to their Estates at his Return, separate them from their Master's Interests; for that, besides the future expectations, with which the King continually fed them, they had bound themselves by all the Oaths and Promises that could be expected from them, to assist and co-operate with him in all his Designs, tho' they were dispensed with from appearing bare fac'd. So soon therefore as the Parliament that gave him Admittance into the Kingdom was Dissolv'd, the King call'd another, the first of his own Calling; and so ordered the matter, that the greatest part of the Masked Revolvers, got in among the real Protestants: By which means, all things went Trim and Trixy on the King's side. They restored him the Militia, which the Long Parliament took from his Father: They Sacrificed the Treasure of the Nation to his Profuseness and Prodigality: They offered up the Rights and Liberties of the People, by advancing his Prerogative; And what was most conducing to the King's P. Designs, they made him, by private Instructions, those Penal Statutes which divided the Two prevailing Protestant Parties, and set them together by the Ears, by Arming one Party of the Protestants against all the rest; such a darling advantage to the Papists; and upon the obtaining of which, he set so high a Value, that neither the necessity of his Affairs at any time afterwards, nor the Application and Interposure of several Parliaments for removing the Grounds of our Differences and Animosities, by an Indulgence to be past into a Law, could prevail upon him to forego the Advantages he had got of keeping the Protestants

at mutual Enmity one with another, and making them useful to his own Designs.

Nor was this all, But that he might carry on his *Popish* Designs the more safely and covertly, under the cursed Masque of Hypocrisie, he procur'd the passing of an Act in his Pensionary Parliament, 1662. whereby it was made Forfeiture of Estate and Imprisonment, for any to say, *The King was a Papist, or An Introducer of Popery*. Nevertheless notwithstanding he was thus become a *Protestant* by the Law of the Land, to repeat how he exerted the Power given him by the Parliament; how he Persecuted and Prosecuted the *Protestant* Nonconformists throughout the Kingdom; how he caused them to be Excommunicated, Imprisoned, and Harassed, when not a *Papist* in the Three Kingdoms was so much as Troubled or Molested, is a thing that would be altogether needless, as being so well known to the World.

I had almost forgot another great kindness which the same Parliament did him, which was at the private Instance of the King, to Abrogate the Triennial Act, by which the Sitting of a Parliament once in Three Years was infallibly secured to the Kingdom. So well did this Monarch know where the Shoe pinch'd him; and so crafty was he to take his Advantage from the *Delirium* and *Frensie* the Nation was in upon his Restoration, to obtain the repealing of the Principal Laws, by which his wrigling into Arbitrary Government would have been curbed and restrained.

But whether it were that the prodigal Zeal of those Members began to cool, conscious perhaps that they had already opened too large a Gap to Tyrannous Invasion upon the Liberties of the People, which they had so Treacherously laid at the King's Mercy; or whether it were that the King resolved to quicken his pace to Arbitrary Rule, to the end he might see *Popery* Flourish in his own Days, certain it is, that his next attempt was to make *Parliaments* themselves the Ministers and Instruments of his own *Popish* Ambition, and our Slavery. In order hereunto, he falls a Buying and Purchasing at certain and Annual Rates, the Votes of the Members; at what time the greatness of the Number of those that stood ready for Sale (as well as

their Indigencies and Lusts) made the Price at which they were to be bought so much the easier. Now, being thus Hired by his Majesty, with their own free Offerings of the Nations Money: How many Bills did they pass into Acts for Enslaving and Ruining a Third part of the Kingdom, under the Notion of Phanaticks and Dissenters? and all this in gratitude of their Salaries, and to accomplish the Will and Pleasure of their Lord and Master the King, whose Bought and Purchas'd Vassals and Slaves they were? All this while, what can we say or think other, but that the Purchaser as well as the Sellers were equally guilty of Betraying the People, who had entrusted them? And then to make a Precedent by Law for Tyranny, those Hirelings empowered the Justices of the Peace to disseize Men of their Estates, without being Convicted and found Guilty by Legal Juries, of the Transgressions whereof they stood Accused: By which they not only overthrew all the Common and Statute Law of the Land, but they Subverted and altered the Fundamental Constitution, in making *English* Men liable to be ruined at the Arbitrary Pleasure of the King. And, as an addition to this, those Mercenary Members, by the Orders and Directions of their most Pious and *Protestant* Pay-Master the King, pass another Law which was stiled *The Act for Corporations*, by which Men of Principles and Integrity were debarred all Offices of Magistracy in Cities and Corporate Towns; the woful effects of which the Kingdom, not long after, both saw and felt, in the Surrenders of Charters, and Betraying of Franchises, by Persons upon whom the Government of the Corporations came to be delivered by Verue of that Act: For, had it not been for that Act, which excluded so many Honest, Able and Vertuous Men, the Persons whom the King for his by-ends nominated for fit and Loyal Men, would never have risen above the Offices of Scavengers, Headboroughs, or Constables at the highest. To this, as a thing that mainly contributed to the King's Design of Enslaving us, we may subjoyn their passing an Act, whereby they did both limit and confine those that were to present Petitions to the King, not to exceed Ten Persons. Let the Matter to be represented be ne're so Important, or the Grievance to be

be redress'd never so Illegal and Oppressive, yet it was made no less than a Riot, if above Ten Persons Address'd themselves to the King to crave the benefit of the Law: A Trouble which the King carefully provided against, knowing how many Laws he had to break, and how burthensome and oppressive he must be to the People, before he could compleat the Fabrick of Slavery and Popery, which he was Erecting.

Nor was this all, For the King being Conscious of his own failing, and finding that through his own Wastfulness, and the Importunities of his consuming Misses, he could not depend on any definite Summ for accomplishing his Promises to his Holy Father the Pope, and his Trusty Confederate the French King, got Two Bills prepared and carried into the House, the Passing of which had compleated the Nations Misery, and made him Absolute. The one was, *To Empower his Majesty upon extraordinary Occasions* (of which he would not have failed, to have been the Judge as often as he pleased) *to raise Money without a Parliament*: And the other was, *For settling an Universal Excise upon the Crown*. The Passing either of which, the King well knew would have soon enabl'd him to have Govern'd by *Basha's* and *Janizaries*, and redeem'd him from having any further need of *Parliaments*.

But what the King had so finely projected to enslave the Nation, and obtain what ever he had a mind to, prov'd the ground of their Disappointment, and the occasion of the Nations escape from the Snare that was laid for it: For the Mercenary Members fore seeing, That the passing these Bills would have put an end to these Pensions, by rendring them useless for the time to come, consulting their Gain, and preferring it above what the Court called their Loyalty, fell in with the honest Party, and so became assitant in throwing out the Bills.

However, Pious *Angels* finding the Nation grew sensible of his covert Intentions, and Encroachments upon their Laws and Liberties, and despairing of getting any more Acts passed in Parliament, toward the promoting his Designs, resolved to Husband the Laws he had already obtain'd, as much as he could, to the Ruine of the Nation; and where they failed of being

Serviceable to his Ends, to betake himself to other Methods and Means : And therefore, besides the daily Impoverishing, Confining, and Destroying of infinite numbers of Honest and Peaceable People: Under pretence of Executing the Laws, he made it his business to invent new Projects to tear up the Rights and Liberties of the People, by ways and means which had not the least shadow of a Law to Conntenance them:

Having made this far Progress towards the enslaving both the Souls and Bodies of his own Subjects at home, let us take a view of his Zeal to the *Protestant* Religion abroad. And first for the *Protestants* of *France*: When Monsieur *Rohan* came into *England* to acquaint his Pious Majesty with the Resolutions taken at *Paris* to Persecute, and if possible, to root out the Reformed in *France*; and proposed such Overtures to the King, as would have been greatly for his Glory and Interest, yet no way contrary to the Allegiance of that poor People, he remitted the Monsieur to his Brother the Duke of *York*, who not only inform'd the *French* Ambassador of the Gentleman's Errand, but plac'd him behind the Hangings, to hear what-ever Monsieur *Rohan* had to represent and Propose to him. Which, altho' the Ambassador could not but abhor in the Two Brothers, and was asham'd of in himself, yet he could do no less than inform his Master of what he had seen and heard. Upon which, the poor Gentleman, on his Return out of *England*, was so narrowly watched, that being Apprehended upon the Borders of *Switzerland*, he was carried back to *Paris*, and there broken upon the Wheel.

Nor did it satisfy the King and his dear Brother the Duke, to have thus Betray'd, as well as abandon'd the *Protestants* in *France*; but with the utmost Malice that Popery could inspire into them, they sought the Destruction of the Seven United Provinces, upon no other Account, but their being *Protestant States*, and for giving shelter to those who being Persecuted by himself and his Confederate (the *French* Tyrant) for their Religion, fled thither for Protection and Safety: For knowing what in due time they intended to bring upon the *Protestants* at home, they thought it most requisite to destroy those *Protestant States* in the first place, that
there

there might remain no Sanctuary for their Persecuted Subjects: And indeed, abating this, and one more Ground of their Quarrel with those States, never was a War undertaken upon more unjust and frivolous Pretences than those Two which the King engaged in against the Seven Provinces, in the Years 1667. and 1672. Nor can any thing justify the Discretion and Wisdom of those Wars, had they not been undertaken merely in subserviency to the promoting Popery and Slavery; seeing that upon all other Grounds that Reason and Prudence can suggest, it was the Interest of *England*, as still it is, to preserve the Government of *Holland* entire. Nor can we have a true Account of the Grounds upon which the Two Monarchs of *England* and *France* agreed the War against *Holland*, in the Year 1672. than by the Representation which the *French* Ambassador made of it both at *Rome* and *Vienna*. For tho' his Publick Declaration pretended no more, but that it was to seek Reparation for the Diminution of his Glory; yet the Account he gave to the Pope of his Masters, and consequently of our Protestant Monarch, his strict Confederate, undertaking that War, was That he did it in order to the extirpation of Heresie; And in the same manner they sought to justify the Piety of that Enterprize to his Imperial Majesty, by alledging, That the *Hollanders* were a People that had forsaken God and were Hereticks, and that all good Christians were bound to Associate and Unite for their Extirpation. Upon which account it seems, our King and the Duke thought fit to exchange the Appellation of Good Protestants for that of Good Christians. However from hence it was plain what sort of Good Christians they were, since it was evident, that their Uniting with *France* in that War, was to destroy the Protestant Dutch Hereticks.

These being the real Grounds and Motives that induced the King of *England* to begin that Impolitick War against the *Dutch*, in the Year 1665. what ever was openly and publickly pretended. How strangely was the *Parliament* deluded and blinded by the King's Oaths, and Protestations of his Zeal for the Protestant Religion? What vast Summs of the Subjects Money they gave this Monarch, to defray the Expences of that

unnecessary and baneful War, is too well known; and yet after all, saving one brisk Engagement ill manag'd, tho' with some loss to the *Dutch*, at length no Fleet was set out, and the choicest of the Royal Navy either Burnt, or taken in Harbour to save Charges. And tho' the *French* at length joyn'd themselves in assistance with the *Dutch* against us, yet, by the Credit he had with the Queen-Mother, he so far impos'd upon *Charles* the Second, no less ready for his own private conveniencies to be impos'd upon, that upon assurance, which no Man of Prudence and Foresight would have believed, That the *Dutch* would have no Fleet at Sea that Year, he forbore to make ready, and so incurred that ignominious Disgrace at *Chatham*; the like to which the *English* never suffered since they claim'd the Dominion of the Sea.

And now we come to the best Act that ever he did in his Life, had he pursued it; which shewed how happy a Prince he might have been, had he been ever faithful to his own, and the Interests of his People, and that Religion which he outwardly profess'd.

For upon Conclusion of that Peace, having leisure to look about him, and to observe how the *French* had in the Year 1667. taken their opportunity, and while we were embroyed and weakened by the late War, had, in Violation of all the most Sacred and Solemn Oaths and Treaties, Invaded and taken a great part of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which had always been considered as the natural Frontier of *England*; the King then prompted more by his own Fears, than out of any kindness he had for the Nation, judg'd it necessary to interpose, before the Flames that consumed next Neighbour should throw the Sparks over the Water.

Thereupon he sent Sir *William Temple*, then his Resident at *Brussels*, to propose a nearer Alliance with the *Hollanders*, and to take joyn't Measures against the *French*; which Proposals of Sir *William Temple's* being entertained with all Compliance by the *Dutch*, within Five days after Two several Treaties were concluded between the King and the States: The one a Defensive and stricter League than before, between the Two Nations; and the other a joyn't and reciprocal Engagement to oppose the Conquest of *Flanders*, and to procure

cure, either by way of Mediation, or by force of Arms, a speedy Peace between *France* and *Spain*, upon the Terms therein mentioned: And because *Sweeden* came into the same Treaty, within a very little while after, from the Three Parties concern'd and engag'd, it was called the *Triple League*. In pursuance of which, the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* was also forc'd upon the *French*, and in some measure upon the *Spaniards*, who were very unwilling to part with so great a part of their Country by a Solemn Treaty.

The King of *France* thus stopped in his Career by the *Triple League*, and by the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, soon after concluded, tho' for a while he dissembled his dissatisfaction, yet resolved to untye the *Triple League* whatsoever it cost him, and therefore set his Counsels to work, to try all the ways and means he could possible think on, in order to compass his said Design. To which purpose (and as its generally thought, that which effected it) the *Duchess of Orleans* was sent over to *Dover*; where if common Fame say true, several Chamber Secrets were performed.

This Treaty was, for a long time, a work of Darkness, and lay long concealed, till the King of *France*, to the end the King of *England* being truly set forth in his Colours, out of a despair of ever being trusted or forgiven by his People hereafter, might be push'd to go on bare faced, and follow his Steps in Government, most Treacherously and Unking like, caused it to be Printed at *Paris*; tho upon Complaint made at the *French Court*, and the Author (tho he had his Instructions from *Colbert*) to humour the King, committed to the *Bastile* for a short time, and then let out again. However, the Book being Printed, some few Copies list into safe hands; from whence take the Substance of the *Mystery of Iniquity* as followeth:

' After that *Montieur De Croisy*, the *French Ambassador* at *London*, had laid before the Eyes of the King of *England*, all the Grounds which his Majesty had of Complaint against *Holland*, &c. He told him, That the time was come to Revenge himself of a Nation that had so little respect for Kings; and that the occasion was never more favourable, seeing many of the Princes of *Germany* were already entred into
' the

• the League; and that the King of *France* was
 • powerful enough to be able to promise to his Allies,
 • in the Issue of that War satisfaction, both as to their
 • Honour and Interests, whereby he prevailed with that
 • Prince to enter into Secret Alliance with *France*.
 • And for his greater Assurance, and the more to con-
 • firm him, *Henrietta*, Dutcheſs of *Orleanſe*, went for
 • *England*, and propoſed to her Brother, in the Name
 • of the moſt Chriſtian King, that he would aſſure him
 • an abſolute Authority over his Parliament, and full
 • Power to eſtabliſh the *Catholick* Religion in his King-
 • doms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: But withal
 • ſhe told him, That to compaſs this, before all things
 • elſe, it would be neceſſary to abate the Pride and
 • Power of the *Dutch*, and to reduce them to the ſole
 • Province of *Holland*; and that by this means the
 • King of *England* ſhould have *Zealand* for a Retreat in
 • caſe of Neceſſity, and that the reſt of the Low-
 • Countries ſhould remain to the King of *France*, if
 • he could render himſelf Maſter of it.

This is the Sum of that Famous League conclud-
 ed at *Dover*, framed and entered into on purpoſe, for the
 Subjugation of theſe Three Nations to *Popery* and
 Slavery.

Soon after this, the Emperor of *Germany*, the Duke
 of *Lorrain* and ſeveral German Princes deſired to be
 admitted into the *Triple League*, but it was abſolutely
 reſuſed them.

Nay, ſo ſoon as the Two Confederate Monarchs
 had thus made a ſhift to cut the Gordian Knot, the
 now pitiful, but formerly vaunted *Triple League* was
 trampled under foot, turned into Ridicule, and leſs
 valued than a Ballad: Inſomuch, that to Talk of ad-
 mitting others into the *Triple League*, was apprehended
 in Print as a kind of Figure of Speech, commonly
 called a Bull.

And thus it is plain, That the *Triple League* was
 broken for no other ends than to be Subſervient to the
 Ends of the *French* King, to ruine the *Dutch*, and to
 bring the Three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and
Ireland, under the Yokes of Arbitrary Power, and Ro-
 man *Catholick* Idolatry, after a Total Abolition of the
 Name of *Parliaments*, and Subverſion of the Funda-
 mental

mental Laws, *Gratias tibi piissime atque invictissime Rex, Carole Secunde.* And that he might not, as much as in him lay, meet with after-rubs, Mr. H. C. was dispatched into *Sweden* to dissolve the *Tripple League* in that Kingdom; which he did so effectually, by co operating with the *French* Ministers in that Court, that the *Swede*, after it came to Rupture, never assisted to any purpose, or prosecuted the ends of the said Alliance, only by Arming himself at the expence of the *League*; first under a disguised Mediation, acted the *French* Interest, and at last threw off his Vizard, and drew his Sword on the *French* side in the Quarrel. And at home, when the Project repined, and grew hopeful, the Lord Keeper was discharged from his Office, and both he, the Duke of *Ormond*, Prince *Rupert*, and Secretary *Trevor*, were discarded out of the Committee for Forreign Affairs, as being too honest to comply with the Intreagues then on Foot.

The Exchequer for some Years before, by the Bait of more than ordinary Gain, had decoy'd in the greatest part of the most Wealthy Goldsmiths, and they the rest of the Money'd People of the Nation, by the due Payment of Interest, till the King was run in Debt, upon what account no Body knew, above Two Millions *Sterling*. which served for one of the Pretences in the Lord-Keeper's Speech, at the opening of the *Parliament*, to demand and obtain a Grant of the fore-mentioned Supplies, and might plentifully have sufficed to disengage the King with Peace, and any tolerable good Husbandry: But as if it had been perfidious to have applied them to any of the Purposes declared, instead of Payment, it was privately resolved upon to shut up the Exchequer, lest any part of the Money should have been legally expended, but that all might be appropriated to the Holy War in prospect, and those far more Pious uses to which the King had Dedicated it.

This Affair was carried on with all the Secresie imaginable, lest the unseasonable venting of it should have spoiled the Wit and Malice of the Design: So that all on a sudden, upon the first of *January*, 1671. to the great Astonishment, Ruine and Despair of so many Interested Persons, and to the Terror of the whole Nation, by so Arbitrary a Fact; the Proclamation Issued
forth

forth in the mid'st of the Confluence of so many and vast Aids, and so great a Revenue, whereby the Crown published it self Bankrupt, made Prize of the Subject, and broke all Faith and Contract at Home, in order to the breaking of both Abroad with more Advantage.

What was this but a Robbery committed upon the People, under the Bond and Security of the Royal Faith? by which many Hundreds were as really Impoverished and undone, as if he had violently broken into their Houses, and taken their Money out of their Coffers: Nay, that would have looked Generous and Great, whereas the other was Base and Sneaking: Only it seem'd more agreeable to His Majesty's Temper, to Rob his Subjects by a Trick, than to Plunder them by direct and open Force.

There remained nothing now, but that the King, after this Famous Exploit upon his own Subjects, should manifest his Impartiality to Foreigners, and Assert the Justice of his intended Quarrel with the *Hollanders*. Thereupon the Dispute about the Flag, upon occasion of the *Fanfan* Yatch, was started a fresh; and a great noise was made of Infamous Libels, horrid Pictures, Pillars set up, and Medals Coyn'd, to the infinite Dishonour of his Majesty's Person, his Crown and Dignity; tho' not one of the Libels or Pictures could be produced; and as for the Pillars they never had any being, but in the imagination of those that made it their business to raise Jealousies between the Two Nations. 'Tis true, there was a Medal Coyn'd which might have been spared; but so soon as it was known in *Holland*, that Exceptions were taken at it, the Stamp was broken to pieces.

Some time after the *French* King seeing the *English* (after the Affair of Sir R. H. on the *Smirna* Fleet) engaged past all Retreat, comes in with his Fleet, not to Fight, but only to sound our Seas, to spy our Ports, to learn our Building, to learn our way of Fighting, and to consume ours, and preserve his own Navy: For no sooner had the Duke of *York*, as the Design was laid, suffered himself to be shamefully surpris'd, but the Vice Admiral, the Earl of *Sandwich*, was Sacrificed, and the rest of the *English* Fleet so torn and mangled, that the *English* Honour was laid not in the Dust, but in
the

the Mud, while his Royal Highness did all that was expected from him, and Monsieur D'Estrees, who Commanded the *French*, did all that he was sent for.

There was Three other several Engagements of ours with the *Dutch* the next Summer. But while nothing was tenable at Land against the *French*, so it seemed that to the *English* every thing was impregnable at Sea, which was not to be attributed to the want of Courage or Conduct of the then Commanders, but rather to the unlucky Conjunction of the *English* to the *French*, like the Disasters that happen to Men by being in ill Company.

In the mean time the hopes of the *Spanish* and *Smyrna* Fleet being vanished, the slender Allowance from the *French* not sufficing to defray farther Charges, and the ordinary Revenue of His Majesty, with all the former Aids, being in less than one Years time exhausted, the Parliament, with the King's most Gracious leave was permitted to Sit again at the time appointed. At what time, at the King's and the Lord Keepers usual daubing way, the War was first Communicated to them, and the Causes, the Necessity, and Danger so well pointed out, that upon the King's earnest Suit, the Commons, tho' in a War begun without their Advice, readily Voted no less than One Million, Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, tho' they would not say it was for the War, but for the King's extraordinary Occasions.

And now the King having got the Money into his Hands, a new Project was set on foot, to set up an Army in *England*, for the introducing of Slavery and Popery, under pretence of Landing in *Holland*; which was raised with all the expedition imaginable; over which was Co'onel Fitz Gerald, an *Irish* Papist, made Major General, so were the greatest number of the Captains, and other Officers of the same Stamp.

And because that pretence was soon blown over, it was afterwards still continued on foot, under the more plausible colour of a War with *France*.

But after all these cunning Contrivances, to do with them what he pleased; whereas before they had Power to Assemble every Three Years, by an Enacted Law; And no less frankly they Surrendered the Power of the

Militia into his hands ; of both which Acts, being done in haste, they had leisure enough afterwards to Repent.

But notwithstanding all the great Kindness of this Parliament, and their more than extraordinary Liberality to the King, of several Millions of the Peoples Money, which was with the same Profusion wasted upon his Pleasures, and the carrying on his Designs for the Introducing of *Poper*y and *French*, not a penny hardly to the good of the Nation, while the Seamen were Fed with a *Bit* and a *Knock* ; and the Merchants that supplied the Stores of the Navy were Cheated of their Money, and never paid to this day ; with what Scorn and Contempt he used them, and how far from that Esteem and Veneration he professed to have for them, while he was wheedling for his Restauration, is apparent to all the Kingdom. 'Tis true, the King continued them till all Men of Impartial Knowledge and Judgment thought them Dissolv'd by Law ; and till that they were Dissolv'd by himself, the 25 of *January* 1678. not that they Sate so long, but were discontinued and contemptuously spared from Meeting to Meeting, many times by the intimated Orders, and to promote the Designs of the *French* King, and never suffered to Sit, but when the King was in extrem necessity of Money. Among the rest of those Prorogations there was one, at a time when the greatest urgency of Affairs, the greatest danger that threatned the *English* Nation required their Sitting when they were diving into the Bottom of the *Popish* Plot, and endeavouring to bring to condign Punishment the chief Instruments, which the King had made use of to compass his Arbitrary and *Popish* Design. Very remarkable is the Actions of the preceding Night, which was follow'd by the Mornings Prorogations ; the Relation of which is so gross, that we think to draw a Curtain over it, lest common Fame should lead us into an Error in any particular ; however, this is certain, that Prince *Rupert* the next Morning, understanding what Resolutions were taken, pressed the King with all the vehemency imaginable, that Argument and Reason could enforce ; but at the same time the Duke of York stuck close to his Brother, telling him, *That his Cousen Rav'd, &c.* so that the Duke that advis'd for the Reine of the Nation was believed ;

lieved; but the Prince that spoke his Mind freely for the good of the Kingdom, was dismiss'd for a Mad-man.

So well did the King act his Part, that when his well-meaning Counsellors lent their assisting hands, to prevent the Consequences of *French* and *Papist* D States, they were mistaken in the Man, and gave their wholesome Advice to him that was not bound to take it.

During this Sessions of Parliament, many foul things came to light; for while the King had rais'd an Army, and press'd the Parliament for Money to maintain them, under pretence of making a War with *France*, which was the earnest desire of all the *Protestant* part of the Kingdom, the Parliament were fully inform'd, that while the King boasted of the Alliances which he had made for the Preservation of *Flanders*, and the *Protestant* Religion, both at home and abroad, he was secretly enter'd into Treaties and Alliances at the same time with the *French* King; and Mr. Garromay of the House of Commons had gotten a Copy of the Private Treaty between the King of *England* and the *French* King, at the same Instant that the Secretary and the others of the Court Party cried out a War; in somuch that several that were then in the House of Commons began to blush when they saw the Cheat so palpably discerned. It was farther discovered, that a great Favorite of the Dukes had been sent over into *France*, under a pretence of Expostulating, and requiring satisfaction for the Injuries which the *English* had receiv'd from the *French*; but in reality to carry the Project of Articles for the Peace, and to settle and confirm all things fast about the Money that was to come from *France*, and to agree the Methods for Shaming the Confederates, about their expected Alliances. They found themselves Cheated of all the Pole Bill Money, which they had given so little a while before, upon the Assurance of a War intended against *France*, the greatest part of which they perceiv'd was immediately, tho' appropriated to the *French* War only, converted to other Uses, as the paying of Old Debts, so that very little was left for paying any Necessaries bought, or to be bought, towards the pretended War with *France*.

Nor were they ignorant of the real Design for which the King had raised his Army, and what care the King and his Brother took, that there should be no other Officers in that Army, than what were fit for the work in hand, which was to introduce *Papery* and *French* Government by main force: The greater part being downright *Papists*, or else such as resolved so to be upon the first intimation. The Duke recommending all such as he knew fit for the Turn, and no less than an hundred Commissions were signed to *Irish Papists* to raise Forces, notwithstanding the Act; by which means both the Land and Naval Forces were in safe hands: And to compleat the work, hardly a Judge, Justice of the Peace, or any Officer in *England*, but what was of the Dukes promotion. Nor were they ignorant of the private Negotiations of the Duke, carried on by the King's Connivance with the Pope, and Cardinal *Norfolk*, who had undertaken to raise Money from the Church, sufficient to supply the King's Wants till the Work were done, in case the Parliament should smother their Design, and refuse to give any more. Nor was the Parliament ignorant what great Rejoycing there was in *Rome* it self, to hear in what a posture His Majesty was, and how well provided of an Army and Money to begin the Business.

The Parliament also understood, while they were labouring the War with *France*, and to resist the Growth of *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power*, That the King underhand assisted the *French* with Men and Ammunition of all sorts; and soon after that, a Cessation was concluded, both at *Nimeguen* and *Paris*: That the King had got some Money from *France* for that Job; by which the *French* King was now forc to hold all his Conquests abroad, which had *England* been real to the Confederates, might have been easily wrested out of his Hands. But it seems it was not so much Money as our King expected, which made him Angry; so that he began to threaten, That if the *French* King did not perform his Promise of 300000*l.* Annuity for Three Years, he would undo all that he had done against the next Parliament. But the *French* King derided those vain Threats, menacing in his turn, That if the King of *England* would not be content with his Terms, and do

do and say to the Parliament according to his Directions, he would discover both Him and his Correspondents in Betraying the Nation, and discover all his Secret Contrivances against the Kingdom; as afterwards he Published the *Dover Treaty at Paris*, which was the Reason, that after that His Majesty of *England* never durst disoblige the *French Monsieur*, but became a perfect Slave to his Interest; a Bondage he never needed to have undergone, had he been but half as Sincere to his *English* Parliament: But to them he was never true, with them he always broke his Faith and Royal Word.

So that now all things running on the Papistical side, to their Hearts desire, what with the *Popish* Soldiers, *Popish* Officers, *Popish* Councils, *Popish* Priests and *Jesuits*, swarming about the Town and Country, and *France* at leisure to help them, who had helped him to be more a Conqueror by the Peace, than he could have expected by a War. The Duke of *York* was for the King's pulling off his Vizard, and for setting up *Alamode of France*, according to what had been so often debated at *White Hall* and *St. James's*.

But while the King and his Brother were thus riding Post to ruine the Laws and Religion of the Kingdom, the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*, by *Dr. Oates*, broke all their Measures for a time, by laying open their Secret Contrivances for the introducing of *Papery* and *Arbitrary Government*.

This Plot was no sooner made known to the King, but he imparts it to the Duke; nor the knowledge of the Plot, for that He knew before, but the News of the Plots being discovered. Upon which they set themselves, with all the Care they could, to stop the further Progress of the Discovery. To which purpose, the Duke gives notice of it to his trusty Secretary *Coleman*, and the Priests and *Jesuits* in the *Savoy*; by which means, what *Papery* and Persons were to be concealed and conveyed away, was carefully look'd after. All this while, by this seasonable Detection of the King and his Brother to the Priests and *Jesuits*, *Oates* himself narrowly escaped being Massacred.

Oates finding himself thus Betrayed, and abandoned by the King, applies himself to *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, with a Scheme of the Plot fairly drawn up, by

that means to be introduced before the Council, to have the business there unfolded; which, with much ado, was done, and *Oates* sent for to be Examined at *Whitehall*, where he managed himself with that Courage, that tho' he were Brow-beaten, and opposed most strenuously; tho' there were many that studied by all the ways and means imaginable to dash and confound him, yet it was impossible; he stood as firm as a Rock, and gave such pregnant Reasons for what he said, that the Council, how unwilling soever to meddle, or stir in his behalf, yet at last were constrained, by the clearness of the Evidence, to grant Warrants for the seizure of several Priests that Night who were taken and sent to Prison.

Upon this followed the Assassination and Murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, perpetrated by the Countenance and Contrivance, nay, express Command of the Duke: For proof of which, a little opening of the Cause and Occasion, and a short relation of the Effects, Consequences, and Events which ensued upon it, will both enlighten us to the Truth of Matters, and confirm our Belief, who were the Authors of, and Accessors to it.

For, as has been already said, That Gentleman had receiv'd an Information upon Oath, from *Dr. Oates*, about a Plot against our Laws, Lives, and Religion: But finding something in the Deposition that reflected upon *Mr. Coleman*, with whom he had an intimate Acquaintance; he thereupon took an Opportunity to let him understand what Information he had receiv'd, and to tell him, That the only way to justify his own Innocency, was, To contribute all his Endeavours and Assistance to prevent so Bloody a Design: But *Coleman*, instead of denying the Truth of those things which *Sir Edmund* related, or offering his Endeavours to obstruct the Progress of it, or to defeat the Success of that Plot, not only acknowledged That there was a Conspiracy against our Laws, Liberties, and Religion, but it was advanced so far and seconded by Persons of that Quality in the Nation and Figure in the Government, there was no possibility to give a Lett or Disappointment to it. And more particularly, he told him, That the King was a Promoter himself of the Design of Overthrowing

ing the *Protestant* Religion, and altering the Government: Which *Coleman* calling to Mind, after his being committed to *Newgate*, and considering, That by that means *Sir Edmund* was enabled to come in a second Witness against him; he therefore ordered it so, as not only to get the Duke acquainted with his own Danger, but that His Highness and Others, whom he had mentioned in his Conversation with *Sir Edmund*, were in the same predicament, and would certainly be brought upon the Stage: To which he receiv'd this Answer from the Duke, That he should not be apprehensive of any Danger from *Sir Edmund*, in regard there would be a way found out to prevent his hurting of *Coleman*, or any body else. Now, that he was thereupon most Barbarously Murdered, is a thing too well known; and then who were concerned, the circumstances make it plain.

First, The circumstance of the Place, *viz.* *Somerset-House*, leading to the *Savoy*, in some of the Apartments of which said House, the Murthered Body was also concealed for several days. The next Circumstance was, The Guarding of the Gate and Avenues of the Palace so strictly all that time, and denying the People their wonted Liberty of access to the House, and passage through; which could not have been done, but by the King's Authority. Nor would some great Ladies have adventured to have gone and viewed the Body while it lay there concealed, by which they involved themselves in the Guilt of the Crime, but that they knew they could hardly be called to an Account for it considering by whose Connivance and Command the Fact was committed: Nay, some severe Centures were pass'd on the Account, and others which were charged with that Murder, were protected from Justice.

Add to this, That when we consider the Motives that urged the necessity of this Murder, which was *Coleman's* having acknowledged to *Sir Edmund*, That the King, as well as the Duke, was in that part of the Conspiracy, to alter the Government, and overturn our Religion: And no body, at that time, was more sorry for the Detection of the Plot than the King; neither did any body labour afterwards to baffle the belief of it more than he did. Nor had he any thing in the
World

World to excuse himself for so doing, but that he was concerned in that part of the *Popish Plot* which related to the overthrow of the Religion and Laws of the Nation, and the destruction of the Chief and most Zealous *Protestants* of the Kingdom, as was sufficiently acknowledged by *Coleman*, not only to Sir *Edmund bury Godfrey*, but to the Committee of Parliament that Examined him at *Newgate*: Which was so plain, that nothing influenced those Gentlemen to conceal that part of his Confession in their Report to the House, but their Pity and Compassion to the King, which would not permit them to expose Him so black; tho' it was as certain, that they frequently imported their knowledge to their Friends.

Nor did it a little add to confirm the Truth of what is here related, That Emissaries should be sent from the Court to deal under hand with the Coroner and the Jury, to have gotten a Verdict of *Felo de se*. But the proofs of his being Murthered were so apparent; such as his Neck being broke, and the cleanness of his Shoes, that nothing could corrupt the Jury from bringing it in otherwise than it was.

Under these Distresses did the King and Duke labour, terribly afraid of the approaching Parliament, for the sake of their *Popish* Minions and Instruments, whose utmost care and industry could not prevent it; but that several of *Coleman's* Letters and Papers were found, which detected the Negotiations of the King and Duke, (for all the World can never separate them, by maintaining that the Duke durst ever have transacted such Treasons abroad, being then no more than another Subject, without his Brother's consent) so that they were in an extraordinary quandary, whether the Parliament should Sit or not: But the King's extream necessity for Money prevail'd upon him to let them Sit: Besides that, the King, who had all along acted under his *Protestant* Mask, was sensible that the Kingdom would have cry'd out Shame had he put off the Parliament at such a conjuncture of Combustion and Distraction as that was.

But when the Parliament met, according to the usual wont, how many Stories and Shams was there endeavoured to be put upon them?

For

For in the interval of the Session, notwithstanding that the Parliament had given him Money to Disband the New rais'd Army, He, to try an Experiment how the Nation would brook his wrigling into that Arbitrary Power which he aimed at all along had spent the Money upon his other Occasions and kept up the Army still. Nevertheless, to excuse the Fraud which he had put upon the disgusted Nation, he tells the Parliament, *That he had been obliged to keep up his Troops, to keep his Neighbours from absolute Despair; And that he had been solicited from abroad, not to Disband them.* Now, was ever such a Story told by a Prince, and vouch'd in the Face of the Nation by a Bred Lawyer, viz, his Chancellor, to justify the Breach of a Law of the Three Estates of the Kingdom as soon as made; and then to flamm the Parliament off, with Christendom, and the World's commending us for the breaking our own Laws, to patch up a Peace which tended to nothing but the Ruine of those for whom it was made: The sum of which was, in short, That the King, to serve his own Arbitrary Ends had run himself into an inconvenience, by defrauding the Nation; however, the Parliament was to be contented with it, and to pay for it to boot; that is, to pay double for the keeping up a *Popish Army* to secure the *Protestant Religion*.

But the Parliament taking little notice of these fine Stories, fell to the main Business, which was, to sound the depth of the Plot; Upon Examination of which, notwithstanding that many Papers of great Importance had, with a more than ordinary Industry been convey'd away; yet, by those that were found, so much appeared that the House Voted it to be a *Damnable Plot, to root up and destroy the Religion and Government of the Kingdom*; and privately got the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs to Sign Warrants for the Apprehending the *Popish Lords*; which was done accordingly: And, for their further Security, they prepared a Bill for putting the Nation into a posture of Defence, and for raising the Militia throughout the Kingdom, to be in Arms for so many days, which passed Both Houses without any difficulty; but the King, out of his Zeal to the *Protestant Religion*, refused to Pass it. And then it was, that the Parliament found too late the Comple-
ment

ment which they had pass'd upon Him, in returning Him the Power of the Militia, which He made use of keeping up standing Armies for their Destruction, but refused for the Security of the Nation.

This therefore not prevailing, they began to provide against *Papists* Sitting in either House; and fram'd a Bill, with a Test to be taken by every Member of both Houses, or else to loose their Seat. This, though His *Protestant* Majesty did not openly oppose himself, yet after a close Consultation held at St. James's; He order'd all His Instruments in the Lords House to withstand the Passing of it there; which, though they could not Effect yet they prevailed so far, that they got a *Proviso* in it for the Duke of York, whereby they did him the kindness as to declare him a *Papist* to all the World.

After this, the Parliament proceeded to the Impeaching of such Persons as they had found to be deepest in the Contrivance of all our Mischiefs; but That His Majesty lookt upon as a business that so nearly concern'd his own Honour, that, like His Father, when the Duke of *Buckingham* was accus'd of Poysoning *James I.* he would not endure the Parliament, in such a *Jehu-like* Chase after the *Popish* Conspirators, but Foot ball'd them again with a Prorogation for several Months: So careful was His *Protestant* Majesty to stifle as much as in him lay and to prevent the Prosecution of an infernal Plot, which He knew was so deeply laid, like the Axe of *Popery*, to the Root of all His *Protestant* Dominions

Not was this all, for so soon as He had dismiss'd the Parliament, and had secured His Accomplices, He took all the Care imaginable to discredit *Oates* and *Bedlow's* Evidence: Forty One was again inculcated into all the Ignorant Pates about the Town, and *Merry-Andrew* (*Roger*) had his Pension out of the *Gazett*, continued to ridicule the Plot, which he did in a most leud and shameless manner; and Money given to set up a new Divinity Academy in a publick Coffee House, to act the *Protestant Whore of Babylon*, and give about His Revelation Cup to the Raw inferior Clergy, and instruct them in better Doctrine than ever they learnt in the University.

Not

Nor did He stop at the endeavouring to discredit the Testimonies of those Witnesses, but sent His Head Emisseries to corrupt them to a denial, and retracting what they had discovered; and when that would not do, *Knox* and *Lane* were sub-armed to accuse *Oates* of Buggery, thereby to have taken him.

Add to this, His Dissolving of this *Enquiring Parliament*, at the Solicitation of the Duke; and the extraordinary diligence of His *Protestant* Majesty to get the next Parliament fit for His Turn, which was suddenly to be Called, to stop the Mouths of the People.

To which purpose, all the Money that could possibly be spared out of the *Exchequer*, was Issued out to divers Persons, to manage the Elections all over the Kingdom, under the old notion of *Secret Service*; in one Article 1500*l.* in another 2000*l.* and the Guineas flew about the Country far and near to the Corporations, to Hire Places, and get fit Men, the Heads of the Counties and Corporations were sent for, and told what Men would be Servicable and acceptable to the King; and particularly the Gentlemen of *Essex* were sent to, by the Chief Justice *Scroggs*, and Cautions that they should not chuse *Mildmay*, whatever they did. And new Charters were obtained for some Corporations, with new Priviledges, and sent them down to be hung out at the Windows, to animate the People to chuse such Men as they were directed. What more could have been done by a *Protestant* Prince, to destroy his *Protestant* Subjects, and advance the *Roman Catholick* Cause? When this Parliament Sate, the King pursued his old method of Speaking with his Lips what was farthest from his Heart, and being in the House of Lords, he there tells Both Houses a plausible Story, how he had consented to the Exclusion of the *Popish* Lords from their Seats in Parliament; to the Execution of several Criminals, both upon the Score of the Plot, and the Murder of Sir *Edmund bury Godfrey*; but above all, how He had commanded his Brother to absent himself from Him, because He would not leave the most Malicious Men room to say, He had not removed all Causes which could be pretended to Influence Him to *Popish* Counsels. In all which there was not one Word of Truth, as to the Motives that engaged Him to do what He did. For

For as to the Exclusion of the *Popish* Lords, He knew it was what He could not avoid, unless He would have absolutely thrown off His *Protestant* Mask, which He was sensible it was not seasonable for him so to do. As for the Jesuits that were Hanged for the Plot, He pleased himself as well as the People, by Sacrificing a few inconsiderable Miscreants to His own Revenge, for ungratefully Plotting against His Life, who had all a long been so faithful to their Cause; and indeed it was but just they should dye like Knaves and Traytors, who had been such Fools to mistrust so true a *Protestant* Prince. As to the Murther of Sir *Edmund bury Godfrey*, what could He have done less, except He would have exposed himself to the Clamour of the whole Nation? That would have been the greatest Folly in the World, for a Prince that loved to Sleep in a whole Skin, as He did, for the Preservation of Three or Four Rascals, Convicted of a Bloody Murther, to have Sacrificed His Honour and His Safety to publick Scandal and Rementment.

And then as for the Removal of His dear Brother, it was done after a long and deep Consultation, upon these Considerations: *First*, That the Duke being out of the way, might stop the further Examination of the Plot, in relation to Himself, and thereby one of the chief Conspirators be preserved safe: And *Secondly*, For a shew that the King was such an Enemy to *Popery* and *Popish* Counsels, that He would not suffer so much as the Breath of a Brother near him, for fear of Infection: For in these Gracious *Protestant* Acts lay all His hopes of making the Parliament give Credit to His Words, and getting Money from them, at a time when the *French* King most Treacherously failed him.

Notwithstanding these things, the Parliament, not being to be deluded by all those seeming Acts of *Protestant* Grace, took little Notice of those Gaudy Trappings of the Kings Discourse, but fell briskly to work upon the Plot, and the Murther of Sir *Edmund bury Godfrey*, to which purpose they made choice of a Secret Committee to pursue that Business, and laid all other Considerations aside, but those of securing the Nation against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*; in order whereunto, they began to think of bringing the
Lords

Lords and others in the Tower to their Tryals: And upon a Report of their Commutee, of the Duke of Yorks Letters, wherein it appeared what great Joy had been conceived at Rome, for the Dukes Conversion, even to draw Tears from His Holinesses Eyes, with several other Papers, discovering much of the Court-Intrigues with Rome; they Voted the hopes of his coming to the Crown, to be one of the chief Causes of the *Popish Plot*; and ordered a Bill to disuaine him to Inherit the Imperial Crown of the Realm.

These Proceedings were of so high a Nature, and so directly tending to the overthrow of that Structure, which the King and the Duke had been so long erecting, that it was thought requisite to Treat them with all the Art and Subtily imaginable, which produced Two of the greatest Master-Pieces that ever were Acted by the Conspirators ever since their first designing *Popery* and *French Tyranny*. The first was, To blind and cozen the House of Commons, by seeming to shew an utter dislike of all former Councils that had brought the Nation to the condition it was in. In pursuance of which, the old Council was Dissolved, and the greatest Sticklers against the *Plot*, and for the *Protestant Religion*, chosen into their room; to the end, that if any Miscarriages happened, they might be all laid to their Charge; or that Miscarriages might receive a more Candid Interpretation, as being done by such good Men, against whose Fidelity the Nation had no exception.

The next Device was, To turn the whole Plot, and the Odium of it, upon the *Protestants*, under the Notion of *Presbyterians* and *Fanaticks*; which is so well known needs no repeating.

But in the midst of these Court Intrigues to run down the Plot, the House of Commons went on vigorously both against the Plot, and *Popish Delinquents*; which grated so hard upon the *Popish Party*, and was such an Obstruction to their Designs, That the King Compassionating their Grievances more than those of His *Protestant* Subjects, give way to the Dissolution of the Parliament; yet, with promise of another to meet towards the latter end of the Year, under pretence of frequent Parliaments; but in reality, to try if He could get another sister for His turn.

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And now the King having laid aside the Parliament, and freed his Instruments from the Terror of it, was so far from not permitting himself to be influenced by Popish Counsellors, that he began to play the old Game; and first of all the popular Protestant Lords of the Council were by degrees decemly laid aside, and the Duke was sent for home: The Lord *Shaftsbury*, for opposing it, was severely Reprimanded in Council, with a Word, how any Person that sat at that Board, durst so boldly affront his Royal Highness? For the face of Affairs was changed, and the King was now swimming in his own Element again. Only it was strange, that he was no more concerned to see the strain of the whole Kingdom run against him: For notwithstanding all his Industry to have brought in his Band of Pensioners again, it was found, the new Chosen Parliament, which was by this time ready to sit, was likely to prove worse for his turn than any of the former; which made him have recourse to his old Shift of Proroguing, which was done by Proclamation, to gain a little time for the acquitting of Sir *G. Wakeman*: So kind was His Protestant Majesty to help out his desponding Friends at a dead lift, in order to the Sham-Plot which he was afterwards designing.

For now the Parliament being cut off, He was at leisure to advise with his Popish Instruments, who were no less sedulous to give their Advice to the utmost that their active Brains could reach. By this seduliry it was, That the *Meal Tub Anti Plot* was contrived and hatched: Only Tools were wanting to Manage and carry on the Treacherous Design. Therefore, not knowing where else to find Miscreants fit for such Diabolical Enterprises, all the Goals about the Town were raked for needy Profligates. It will be needless to give History of that which has been so sufficiently discovered for an abominable Imposture.

The Miscarriage of this Blessed Design, caused a second Prorogation of the Parliament, upon hopes of 200000 *l.* from *France*, which was dexterously prevented by the Duke of *Buckingham*; which the King so illresented, That his Attorney General had Orders in Council to Indict him of Buggery, with a design to have taken away his Life, and repair the *French* Disappoint-

pointment, by the Confiscation of his Estate, had the Project taken. Never so much Villany in Contrivances; never so much Money ill spent, and never worse luck; the like Success happened in that damn'd Sham Plot Intrigue between *Fitz Harris*, *Neill Wall*, with the *French Dutchess*, &c.

Nor must it be omitted as an Argument of His Majesties great Zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, That when one *Sergeant*, a Priest, made a Discovery of the *Papish Plot* from *Holland*, which he caused to be transmitted to the Court, with an intention to have discovered several others, he was first brib'd off, and then sent for into *England*, slightly and slyly Examined, had his Pardon given him, and sent back with Five Pound a Week to say no more.

Nor was it a thing less astonishing to the Nation, to see the Parliament Prorogued from time to time, no less than seven times, before permitted to Sit, on purpose to get time for the *Papish Duke* to settle the *Protestant Religion* in *Scotland*; and to the end the Conspirators might get heart and footing again, and retrieve their Losses in *England*; and in this Interval it was, That Messengers were sent to their Friends at *Rome*, and others their Associates, for Money to strike while the Iron was hot in regard that *Scotland* by this time was secur'd, and all things in such a forwardness, that now or never was the time; but the Pope had such an ill Opinion of our Sovereigns Fidelity, that he slip'd his Neck out of the Collar, and in imitation of him, the rest executed themselves upon the Score of their Poverty.

Thus missing Money from *Rome*, and the rest of their *Papish Associates*; and the King of *France* refusing to part with any more Cash, there was no way but one, at a forc'd put, which was to let the Parliament Sit; and to make them the more willing to give Money to undo the Nation, the King, in a feam'd Speech, told them, of the wonderful advantageous Alliances for the Kingdoms good he had made with Foreign Princes, and particularly with *Holland*; and how necessary it was to preserve *Tangier*, which had already run him in Debt: Upon which Considerations, the Burthen of his Song was, *More Money*,

But the Parliament Incensed at the frequent Prorogations, fell upon Considerations more profitable for the Kingdom, such as were the bringing to condign Punishment the Obstructors of their Sitting, the Impeachment of *North* for drawing the Proclamation against Petitioning; and Three of the Judges for dismissing the Grand Jury, before whom the Duke was Indicted of Recusancy, before they could make their Presentments; the prosecution of the *Popish Plot*; and the Examination of the *Meal Tub Sham*; all which they lookt upon to be of greater Moment than the Kings Arguments for his Want. For it was well known, That by his perfidious Dealings abroad, he had so impair'd his Credit with all the Foreign Princes, to whom he sent, that they slighted his Applications, as one upon whose Word they could never Rely. And as for the Preservation of *Tangier*, there was nothing less in his Thoughts: A fine Credit for a Prince, and an excellent Character to recommend him to Posterity, That he had no other than his own sinister Ends upon the Grand Council of his Kingdom; nor no other way to work them to those Ends, unless by forging Untruths, to make them accessory to the Betraying of the People that had Entrusted them.

The Parliament therefore bent all their Cares to secure the Kingdom from Popery; concluding, that the Dukes Apostatizing from his Religion, was the sole Evil under which the Nations in a more particular manner groaned, and consequently that he was to be Disinherited. But the King being resolved not to forsake his Brother, what ever became of the Kingdom, took such a high Resentment against these honest and just Proceedings of the Houses, that after he had Sacrificed the Lord *Stafford* to his hopes of obtaining Money, upon the Dukes undertaking to furnish him, he Dissolved this Parliament too, with promise of another at *Oxford*, to sweeten the bitter Pill which he had made the Nation to swallow.

In the mean time, all the Care imaginable was taken to bring the *Protestant Plot* to perfection; preparative to which, Judges were selected, with Dispositions, Thoughts, and Minds as Scarlet as their Gowns. And the choice of Sheriffs was wrested, by force, from the People,

People, that they might pick out Juries without Conscience and Honesty. A Plot contriv'd by Perfidiousness and Treachery, beyond the parallel of History. A Plot with *Parisian* Massacre in the Belly of it, designing no less an Inundation of Innocent Protestant Blood, under the colour and forms of Justice; and yet, who but he, who in his last wheedling Speech, to pick the Nations Pocket, had promised to consent to any Laws against Popery: And the better to carry on this damn'd Design, What a Crew of Devils, in the shape of Men, a Regiment of Miscreants, in whom all the Transgressions of the Law and Morality were mustered together? I say, what a Band of such Caitiffs were Rendezvouz'd, and with that Money which Parliaments give to promote the Security of the Kingdom, Carested and Pampered even to Excess, for the destruction of the Innocent? And all this, at the Expence of him that bore the Stile and Character of our *Gracious Sovereign*. For full proofs of which, there needs no more than to look into the Tryal of *Fitz Harris* himself; therefore, to recite the particulars of a Design already so well known, and publickly expos'd to all the World, would be a repetition altogether needless. This however was observable, That we were come to the height of *Tiberius's* Reign; when Informers, and false Accusers, a sort of Men found out for the Ruine of the Publick; and for the Punishment of which, no Laws can be too severe, were encouraged and courted with Rewards. *Nullus à pœna hominum cessare dies; decreta accusatoribus præcipua premia; nemine delatorum fides abrogata; omne Crimen pro Capitali receptum, etiam paucorum simplicitatemque Verborum.* No day pass'd without some Punishment inflict'd; great Rewards given to Informers; no Informer but what was believ'd; all Crimes were adjudged Capital, tho' merely a few idle Words. Such a harmony there was between these Times, and pernicious Reign of that Master in Cruelty and Dissimulation, *Tiberius*.

But the Roguery being discovered while *Fitz Harris* thought to have put *Everard* upon this Dilemma, either to Hang, or fix the Libel upon others, he came to run himself into the Noose. Lord! into what an Agony it put the King, the Duke his dear Brother, and their

then Jugling Instruments! that the King, who a little before was so overjoyed with the account of the Contrivance, which was given him at *Whitehall*, that he could hardly contain himself from displaying the Raptures of his Soul, was now so highly incensed against *Fitz Harris*, that he was heard to say, *That he should Die, if there were no more Men in England.* But, his Confession to the Recorder, *Sir George Treby*, so enraged his Employers, that he was presently lockt up in the *Tower*, out of the reach of all Men, but the Lieutenant, to damn him for spoiling so hopeful a Design: But above all things, there was such a dread amongst the Conspirators, lest the Parliament should come to the knowledge of the depth of the Design, that their resolute insisting to have the Cognizance of the Crime within their own Jurisdiction, was the occasion of their sudden Dissolution. After which, a Chief Justice was Exalted, on purpose to Hang *Fitz Harris* out of the way, to prevent his farther Discovery; for no sooner was the Parliament Dissolved, but *Fitz Harris* was Hanged; and by that means many a Mystery of Iniquity concealed.

The Dissolution of This, and the foregoing Parliament was justified by a Declaration in the King's Name, which being published with all the Severity and Reproach that could be cast upon those Worthy Patriots, verified the Report of what the King had been heard to say, *That he would make the name of Parliaments to be forgotten in England.* However, the Parliament being blown up, and the King running away in a pretended pannick Fear from *Oxford*, to colour the ensuing Projects of Plotting and Subordination; no sooner was he settled again at *London*, and *Fitz Harris* Hang'd, to the great Joy of those that Adored him before, but the *Gazett* was cram'd with Addresses from all Parts of the Nation, to Thank the King for his Expressions and Promises to Govern by Law, which was no more than his Duty: But those Addresse were only Signed by the unthinking, loose, and rascally part of the People, who were not sensible of the Mischief which was thereby intended, which was to make the Nation out of Love with Parliaments, thereby to unhinge the Government, and to introduce Tyranny and Arbitrary Power: And that

hat the Addressors were only the Canaille of the Kingdom, with only a Tool of Quality at the Head of them, the Conspirators well knew.

Some time after *Fitz Harris* was Executed, a Paper was Published in the name of his *Recantation*, which his Wife hearing Cried about the Streets, and viewing it, asked a certain Gentleman, *Whether those were her Husband's Papers or no?* who told her, *They were:* To which she said, *That then her Husband was Damn'd, for that she knew all those things to be false.*

However, upon the Ground work of this *Recantation*, a Committee of Subornation was Erected; by whose Directions, *Turbervil*, *Dugdale*, and all the *Irish* Evidence, who had been most conversant with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, upon the account of the *Irish Plot*, together with one *Booth*, by whom a full Detection of the whole Villany has since been made, with a full disclosure of all the Artifices made use of, to have corrupted the Integrity of what honest Gentleman Captain *Wilkinson*. And all those Varlets were now list'd and receiv'd into Pay by the said Committee of Subornation; and a Swearing School being set up according to the directions of the Committee, they receive every one their distinct Cues and Lessons, to Con and get by heart, against occasion should serve, by the Settlement of the Committee, which was approved, as was every thing else they did, by His *Protestant* Majesty.

Colledge's Tryal is too well known to be here repeated, but after Ages will observe how he was removed from *London*, where he had been acquitted, to another remote Country where his Prosecutors were assur'd of his Destruction, by deluded Ignorance and partial Knavery; how he was Accus'd and testified against by *Naboth's* Evidence, the Scandal and Reproach of all Mankind, whose Memories stink upon the Earth, and would soon be forgotten, but that their Names are made use of to transmit the Infamy of their Employers to Posterity. All the Severities us'd at his Tryal were palpable demonstrations of that Innocent Man's being determined to Destruction right or wrong, on purpose to lay the foundation of farther Butcheries; so that being flesh'd by this Success, the next attempt of the King's Justice was upon the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, for the same

same pretended Treason for which Colledge had suffered. And here Posterity will make the same Observations and Conclusions in general, as in Colledge's Case: But more particularly will after Ages easily conclude from hence, That it was not for any Contrivance of his Lordship, but by a Plot of Court and Popish Revenge, to destroy a Person, who by his Courage, Wisdom, and good Intelligence, had Opposed and Defeated so many of their Designs, against the Religion and Welfare of the Nation: For that this Plot upon his Lordship was so early communicated to Rome, and other Foreign Parts, That it was Talked of at Parma, and in Flanders, sometime before his Lordship was Imprisoned in England. They will observe the Injustice done his Lordship, in refusing to let him see or know the Persons that deposed against him, which was not denied either to Coleman or the Jesuits; and which being so contrary to Law, was a plain demonstration, That either the Witnesses were not thought of Credit sufficient to support the Confinement of so great a Peer; or else, that it was not convenient to trust the general course of their Lives to be scrutinized too soon. The Motives that induced the Court to begin with this great and eminent Peer, will be easily discernable to succeeding Ages: For to what Man of Sense and Reason is it not apparent, That it was the Policy of the Court, That their Revenge against this Earl should not be Adjourned, till they had tryed the Credit of their Witnesses, upon other considerable Persons, for fear, lest by his Lordships Industry and Abilities, he should not only have detected and exposed the whole Intrigue, but have broken the Engine, by which the Two Brothers thought to have made themselves absolute Lords of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom. For which reason it was thought best to Assault him by way of Surprise, and to hurry him to Prison, upon a pretended Conspiracy, which People would be astonished at, but not have time to unravel. For the King and his Brother were assured, That the Convicting of the Earl of Shaftsbury, upon a Charge of Levying War, and Conspiring to seize his Person, would be a kind of Moral proof against every other Person, whom they had a mind to accuse of the same Crime. Since Peo-
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ple would be easily perswaded, That a Person of his Prudence and Conduct, would not easily embark himself in such a dangerous Enterprize, without a proportionable number of Persons, who by their Power, Quality and Interest, might be supposed to be able to carry it on: So that all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of England, that ever had any converse or acquaintance with the Earl, supposing them to be Persons obnoxious to the Court, were involved in his Ruine.

But it will remain an eternal Monument of Reproach upon R. Subordination, That after all the Industry of the Court, and their obsequious Instruments; after all their laying their Heads together, to form cohering and probable Proofs of the Charge intended to be laid against him, after an illegal Trick devised to have tried him within their own Jurisdiction on the Verge; which was so contrary to Law, that it was exploded by their own *Bene placito Lambskin Men*; that at length he was acquitted by a Grand Jury, the most Substantial for Estates, Integrity, and soundness of Judgment, that had been returned for many Years in the City, to the never dying praise of the Two Sheriffs, Mr. Pilkinton and Mr. Shute. A Disappointment, which so incensed the King and his dear Brother, That they resolv'd to make an *Islington Village* of the chief Metropolis of the whole Nation; and what they could not do by Fire, to effect by wresting from them their Franchises and Privileges, far more ancient than the descent of those that wrested them for a time out of their hands: For this reason the Attorney General was ordered to bring a *Quo Warranto* against the City Charter, under the pretence of their Petitioning for the Sitting of the Parliament; a thing so far from being a Crime, that it was the undoubted Right of the Nation. And yet such was the awe which the Antiquity and legality of the Charter had upon the Judge, that the Fountain of Justice was forced to shift his Chief Justice, till he could fix upon one that durst to adventure to pronounce Sentence against it: Which, as it was the greatest Invasion that could be against the ancient and fundamental Constitutions of the Kingdom; so it plainly laid open the King's Pious Intentions of Governing by Law; which, according to the new Interpretation of the Court, was the downright sub-

Subverting of all that was most Sacred and Valuable in the Nation, to the end the King might have it in his Power to violate the Electing of a Parliament, and nominate and obtrude upon all Persons of the Kingdom, his own Slaves and Creatures, *Papists* and *Traitors* to their Country; so by reducing one of the most ancient Corporations, and levelling it with one of the meanest Villages in the Kingdom, that he might Command the Mayor and Sheriffs, and, by their means, the Juries of the City, on purpose to have the Lives of all his *Protestant* Subjects at his Mercy.

And that this was his end, was apparent by the Consequences; for when once the King, by the overthrow of the Charter, had made sure of his own Sheriffs, and Juries; Heavens! How were the Laws of God and the Kingdom wrested by misinterpretation? How were the Precepts, even of Morality it self, transvers'd? the Witnesses for the King carested and countenanced in their known Subordinations? the Testimonies for the pretended Criminals brow-beaten, and all the Arguments of Law and Reason urged by the most Learned Council of the Nation, over ruled by Hectoring and Swaggering Judges, to take away the Lives of the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, *Armstrong*, *Cornsb*, and several others, meerly to gratifie the Rage of *Papist* Revenge.

Such were the Violences of the Court at that time, in defiance of Justice, as if all fear of giving account to future Parliaments, had been thrown off, or that they never intended to be troubled with them more, till they had framed the Nation into such a Posture, as to chuse such Members as would not only forgive such Villanies but go sharers with them in the Spoil of the Kingdom.

But then follow'd the Barbarous and Horrid Murder of the Earl of *Essex*; which, how far it could be laid to the King's Charge, we shall not here pretend to determine; tho it seems somewhat strange, that the King could find no other Morning to accompany his Brother to the Tower, but that very Morning that the Earl was Murdered, will, no doubt, very much augment the Suspicion of future Ages; and it will be as odly look'd upon, that when Letters and Proposals were sent to some Great Persons near the King, *That if his Majesty*
would

ould but grant a Pardon to Two or Three Men that
ould be named, when the Favour was granted, the whole
Mystery of the Contrivance should be discovered, and the
Contrivers and Actors be particularly detected; such a
proposal should be slighted and neglected.

Now, after all these Tricks and Stratagems of the
King, to introduce Tyranny and Slavery, to stifle the
Popish Plot, by throwing it upon his Protestant Sub-
jects; after such an obstinate and steadfast Conjunction
with the Sworn Enemy of the Nation, the French King,
for the Subversion of our Laws, Liberties, and Reli-
gion; after so many Sights and Contempts to put up-
on the grand Council of the Kingdom, which he never
Assembled, but to empty and drain the Purses of the
Nation. But to shut the door against all Objections
that can be made in his behalf, there is one proof yet
remaining behind, which must be an undeniable con-
vincement to all the World, of the Truth of what has
been hitherto said, as standing still recorded under his
own hand, if the Original of the Instructions be ex-
tant; and that is the following Memorial of his Am-
bassador to the King of Poland, in the Year, 1667.

Most Illustrious Prince,

THE King, my Master, has Commanded me to let your
Majesty know the Resolutions he has taken, in all
Points, to concur with the most Christian King, in giving
your Majesty all possible Assistance for the Establishing
your Majesty's Title in such ways as your Majesty shall
think most effectual for the securing your Crown and Dig-
nity, and further Honour of your Queen and Royal Issue.
The King my Master being truly sensible of the great
Misfortunes of those Princes whose Power must be bounded,
and Reason regulated by the Fantastick Humors of their
Subjects. Till Princes can be freed from these Incon-
veniencies, the King, my Master, sees no possible prospect
of establishing the Roman Catholick Religion.

If this be not enough to discover his Inclinations,
and the whole drift of his Intriguing Reign, there
can be nothing sharp enough to penetrate the stupid and
besotted Bigottry of those that stand in his Justification.

But

But notwithstanding the wilful blindness of such People it is to be hoped, that other Men, less byass'd, and having the same just pretences to common Understanding, have a greater value for their Reason, than to forfeit it to prejudice, and an Interest now exploded by all the sober part of the World: And having once disintangled their Judgments from the Incumbrances of *Jure Divino Nonsense*, they will then find, That the whole course of his Reign was no more than what this Memorial discovers; and that the frequent Breaches of his Word and Promises, both to his Parliaments and People, were but the effects of the Religion he profess'd, and own'd in his Ambassadors Memorial; one of the chief Principles of which it is, *Not to keep Faith with Hereticks*; and by which he was obliged to be more faithful to the King of *Poland*, than the King of Heaven. Hence it was, that notwithstanding his Declaration at *Breda*, design'd and pen'd to obtrude a seeming appearance of Truth, and specious face of Integrity upon the Nation; after he came to be restored and settled, we found our selves deceiv'd in all that we expected from the Faith and Credit of his Royal Word. To which we may subjoyn that other famous Declaration, upon shutting up the Exchequer: Wherein, tho' his Sacred Word and Royal Faith, were, in plain and emphatical Terms, laid to Pledge for Repayment, yet the Events in the Ruine and Impoverishing of so many Families, did no way consist with his Gracious and Solemn Promises.

As for the Covenant, what-ever the Oath were, it matters not here to dispute; but they who were Witnesses of his Taking it, observed, that if ever he seem'd sincere in what he did, it was in binding his Soul by that Solemn Oath; and yet he not only openly and avowedly broke it, but caused it to be Burnt in all the Three Nations, by the hands of the Common Hangman. Where can we find a more matchless piece of Dissimulation, than in his Signing that Declaration in *Scotland*, which he published under the Title of, *A Declaration of the King's Majesty, to his Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, England and Ireland.*

Charles the II. having long trifled with the Papists, his beloved Friends, and indeed had so carried himself, that neither Papist nor Protestant could tell what to make of him; yet the Papists resolved they would be no longer dallied with by him: And therefore, so soon as he had made all Things ready for his Brother's Exaltation; after he had prevented his Exclusion from the Throne, and put all the Power of his Dominions into his hands, to give way for him that truly Reigned, while he but only wore the Name of King, - he was struck with an Appoplexy, as it was given out, (for let the true Cause be what it will, a Prince always dies of some Disease or other in the Physitians Catalogue) but such were the Circumstances of his Death, that Men began to discover their Suspicions freely to the World, before he was cold. However it were, certain it is, that he was Absolved from all his Sins, by his great Friend John Huddleston; and that the Priests gave him extream Unction: At what time, one of his Relations forcing his way into the Room, and seeing them at it, could not forbear saying, That now they had Oyl'd and Greas'd his Boots, they had made him fit for his Journey. And this is yet more remarkable, That all the while he lay upon his Death-Bed, he never spoke to His Brother, to put him in mind of preserving the Laws and Religion of his People; but only recommended to him the Charitable Care of his Two Concubines. Portsmouth, and poor Nelly.

Nor was it a small Aggravation of the general Suspicion, to find him hurried to his Grave, with such an Ungrateful Secrecy, in the dead of the Night, as if they had feared the Arresting of his Corps for Depravity, not so much as the mean Pomp of the Blew-Coat-Boys to Sing him to Heaven: Insomuch, that he was buried, by his Brother whom he had so highly obliged, with far less decency than was permitted for the Funeral of his

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Father,

Father, by his Capital Enemies that had beheaded him; But that perhaps might be so ordered by Providence, to signifie that he was not worth the publick Lamentation of the People, whose Religion and Liberties he had been always designing to subvert.

T H E
Secret History
O F
James the II.

TO him succeeded *James the II.* not more perniciously designing, but more eagerly bent in the Chase of National Ruine and Destruction. He came into *England* full frighted with his Mothers Religion, and her Malice to the People of the Nation; but wore at first the same Vizard Mask of Protestantism which his Brother did. But tho he were fitter for the Business they both design'd, yet he understood not how to manage it so well; so that had he been the Elder Brother, we may undoubtedly presume to say, he would have been much sooner thrown out of the Saddle, greatly to the saving both the Honour and Treasure of

of the Nation, and the Life of many a worthy Gentleman, and true Lover of his Country.

'Tis well known, and a thing confirmed by Two Letters yet to be seen, wherein one of the King's own Chaplains, then upon the spot when it was done, imparts and laments it to a Bishop. *That the Duke of York, while he was yet but very Young, made a solemn Renunciation of the Protestant Religion, and was reconciled to the Church of Rome, while he sojourned with his Mother in France, in hopes (by the Assistance of the Papists) to have defeated his Elder Brother of his Right of Inheritance, tho he had all the Indulgence imaginable to conceal his Conversion, where it might be for his private Advantage, and the general good of the Cause.*

And so early was this Ambition of his to supplant his Elder Brother, that when the Scots were treating with the Exil'd King, to restore him to the Throne of Scotland, That he was at that very time practising with such as remain'd faithful to the Kings Title here, that they would renounce his elder Brother, and chuse him for their Sovereign. And for that reason it was that the Duke forsook him at *Bruxels*, and withdrew into *Holland*; so that the King was necessitated, not only to command him upon his Allegiance to return, but was constrain'd to send the Duke of *Ormond*, and some other Persons of Quality, as well to threaten, as persuade him, before he would go back.

And as he was an early Traytor to his Brother, so he did no less treacherously attempt the disowning of his first Wife. For finding her extraordinary Chastity to be such, that he could not be admitted to her Bed, but upon the lawful score of Matrimony, he was at last Married to her, but so very privately, that only the King, and some very

few Friends were privy to it : After which, perceiving that his Brother's Restoration was fully determined in *England*, under pretence that it would be more for his own, and the Honour and Interest of his Brother, to Marry with some great Princess, that would both enrich and strengthen them by the largeness of her Dowry, and the greatness of her Relations, he would have taken an Occasion from the privacy of the Nuptials, to deny her being his Wife, and to disavow all Contracts and Ceremonies of Marriage between them : But the King detesting so much baseness, as being himself a witness of the Marriage, would not suffer the Lady to be so heinously abused; but constrained him, after great reluctaney, to declare it publicly to all the World. A happy Providence for *England*, which by that Conjunction blest us with two Protestant Princesses, matchless in Virtue and Piety, and all those other Graces that adorn their Sex; to the eldest of which we are beholden for our Deliverance from an Inundation of Slavery and Popery, under the Auspicious Conduct of a Sovereign, truly meriting the Noble and Ancient Titles of *King of Men*, and *Shepherd of the People*, and the yet more dignified Addition, of *Defender of the Faith*. And from the youngest of which we have already the earnest of a hopeful Issue to guard us from the like Invasions. Such is the Provision of Providence, that many times it happens, the most venomous Creatures carry about them the particular Antidote against their own Poysons.

Certain it is, that the Duke of *York*, would never have pull'd off his Protestant Vizour, nor have declared himself of the *Roman* Communion so soon, had he not been thereto necessitated by a Stratagem of the King his Brother; for the Papists having a long time waited for the Accomplishment of the
King's

King's Oathes and Promises for restoring their Religion; and having annually contributed large Sums of Money towards the effecting of it, at length grew impatiently fullen, and would advance no more, unless the King, or the Duke, would openly declare themselves for Popery: Which the King thinking no way seasonable for him to do, and not being able by all his Arguments and Importunities to prevail with his Brother to do it, he (at length) besought himself of this Project, which was, To get the Queen to write a Letter, intimating her Intention to withdraw into a Monastery; which Letter was to be left upon her Closet-Table, that her Priests, as it was concerted before-hand, might there seize it, and seeing the Contents of it, carry it forthwith to the Duke. Upon which, the Duke being Jealous lest the King, upon the Queen's relinquishing her Husband, might be induced to marry again, and thereby deprive him of the hopes of succeeding, than which there was nothing which he thirsted after more, upon obtaining a previous Assurance, that in case he declared himself a Papist, she would not withdraw, immediately pulled off his Mask, and renounced Communion with the Church of *England*.

Being thus quit of his fears from the King, his next work was to rid himself of all his Jealousies of the Duke of *Monmouth*. To which purpose he lay day and night at the King, to require him to turn Roman Catholick. Which the King out of his Tenderness to the *Romish* Cause, as well as to gratifie his Brother, undertook to do, and accordingly sent him into *France*, with an express Command to reconcile himself to the Church of *Rome*: However, the Duke of *Monmouth*, out of an aversion to the Fopperies of that Religion,

fail'd in his performance; which so incens'd the Duke of *Tork*, that from that time forward he studied all the ways imaginable to bring him to Destruction.

In the mean time, having by his publicly declaring himself a Papist, engag'd all those of the same Religion, to his Person and Interest, he resolved to drive on, *Jehu*-like, and to promote the Catholick Cause, with all the vigour and swiftness he was able, and to make the utmost use of his Brother's good Intentions. And such was his Blottry to the *Romish* Church, That according to the Principles of that Religion, he stuck at nothing *per fas & nefas*, to bring about his Popish Designs.

I shall not here dilate upon his secret Negotiations at *Rome*, his Correspondencies with Foreign Priests and Jesuites, or his private Intrigues with the *French* King, which have been all sufficiently exposed already in *Print*; as for that whatever has been already said of the King, is also to be said of him in general, while he was Duke, in regard they both drew in the same Yoak, for the Ruine of the Nation. For this is as certain as the rest, that he had a most eager desire to Rule, and Rule despotically, which was the Reason he was frequently heard to say. *He had rather Reign one Month as the King of France, than Twenty Years as his Brother the King of England did.* And besides, it was as plain, That he had a mortal Antipathy against the Protestant Religion, and more particularly against the Professors of it in *England*; but more especially the Dissenters, upon the score of revenging his Father's Death. An imbitter'd hatred, which he deriv'd from his Mother, who mortally mallic'd *England* upon the same Account,
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and which he acknowledged, in his Bed-Chamber, at St. *James's*, where he openly declared; That he was resolv'd to be reveng'd upon the *English* Nation for his Father's Death. Which if those unthinking People, who are so eager to have him again, would but consider, they would not be so forward for his return. For it is in vain for the Church of *England*-Men, of what degree soever, to think that their refusing to swear Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, would excuse them from that Universal Revenge which he would take upon the Nation, were it ever again in his Power.

Only here was the Difference between the two Brothers, That the King thought to ruine his Enemy by main force, and the fair hand of Victory; but the Duke hoping to kill two Birds with one Stone, made it his Business, at the same time, to ruine the Enemy by force, and his own Country by treachery. Thus when he had engag'd his Brother in the first Holy *Dutch* War, of the Extirpation of Hereticks, he permits the *English*, at first, to exercise all the Bravery of their Skill and Courage, to a great probability of Success; but then falls asleep in the height of his Conduct, to the end, the *Dutch* (for want of Orders) might have an opportunity to wrest the Victory out of the hands of the *English*, on purpose to keep the balance of Destruction on both sides even. Thus he permitted himself to be surpriz'd at *Soul-Bay*, knowing there were enough to maul the Enemy, but not enough to preserve those that fought on our side. So that the *Dutch* may be said to be well thrashed, and the *English* to be well sacrific'd. And as a farther Demonstration of his perfidious Soul; when he found the Contest would be too tedious be-

between two Nations so well matched, it was the Duke's Contrivance to Suborn and Bribe two indigent and desperate Villains, to go over and Fire the *Dutch Ships*, as they lay in their Harbours; and when he had done that, it was the same Treachery, that with a sham story lull'd his Brother asleep, and procur'd the Firing of our Ships at *Chatham*.

The burning of *London* was such a matchless piece, as could not have enter'd into the Breast of any but a bejesuited *Herostratus*, in hopes to purchase the infamous immortality of a *Popish Saintship*, by reducing to Ashes, the greatest Bulwark and Magazine of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*. *Rome* was set on Fire by *Nero*, to have re-built it again more Glorious, and that he might have space enough for one of the most sumptuous Pallaces so designed, under the Sun; thereby to have made the Mistress of the Earth, the wonder of the World: But *London* was fired, not only to destroy the Wealth and Habitations of the City, never to have risen more, but with an Intention to extirpate the Inhabitants themselves to boot, and to have turned the Venerable and Spacious Pile into a depopulated Wilderness, by a general Massacre of the People, under the Consternation of the spreading Flames. The standing Streets provided and furnished with Incendiaries, with fresh Materials to revive and restore the weary Conflagration, and when taken in the Act, rescued out of the Hands of those that seized them, and sent to *St. James's*, to be there secured from the Rage of the Multitude, and then dismiss without Prosecution. An excellent way to have made all sure, by mixing the Blood of the Inhabitants with the Ashes of their Dwellings, the only Cement, which the Papists believed

believed would fastest bind the Fabrick of the Romish Church; and what greater piece of Perfidy could there be, than while the D. was riding about the Streets, under pretence of assisting to quench the Fire, that his Guards were, at the same time, employed to prevent the People from removing their Goods; and his Palace made the Refuge of such as were taken in the very Fact of cherishing and fomenting the Flames! This the Committee of Parliament trac'd so far, that it cost the Life of the poor Gentleman that gave the Information of these Things, to the Chairman of the Committee, to prevent any further Discovery, and secure the D. from the Danger of his Life.

Coleman's crying out, *There was no Faith in Man*, was a most undeniable Testimony of the Treachery of his Master, notwithstanding all the faithful Service he had done him; and was it not a Magnanimous and generous Act of a Prince, to betray, as he did, to the Gallows, not only his most trusty Servant, but his Fellow-partner in the Conspiracy?

More inhumane still, was the barbarous Murder actually contriv'd and brought to perfection, by the encourag'd Instruments of the Duke. For he it was that sent word to *Coleman* to bid him take no care, for that Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* should be remov'd out of the way; and at the same time took the like care that his Servant *Coleman* should follow him. For it was Detection that he feared, and the Duke well knew that the Dead could never tell Tales. The particulars of the Murder, and how far the Circumstances of it reached the Duke, are too fresh in Memory to be here inserted; and Dispensation for Deeds of the blackest hew were so easily obtained, that it was no wonder the Duke

Duke so little boggled at a single Murder, to conceal the designs of general Massacres, wherein he was engag'd.

In pursuance of which, he was no less industrious to bring the *Presbyterians*, and all the *Dissenting Protestants*, within the Snare of his Sham-plot, in order to the Destruction of thousands of innocent persons.

This *Dangerfield* discovered to the World, and his Information taken upon Oath, before Sir *William Roberts*, and Sir *William Poultney*, are extant; wherein he gives an Account of his being introduced, several times, into the Duke of York's Presence. Particularly, that being once, among the rest, admitted to the Duke of York's Closet, at *White-Hall*, he kissed his Hand upon his Knees: And then being taken up by the Duke, he gave him a little Book, containing the whole Scheme of the *Presbyterian Plot*, for which the Duke thank'd him, as also for his diligence in the *Catholick Cause*, and wishing good success to his Undertakings; added these words. *That the Presbyterian Plot was a thing of most mighty Consequence, and I do not question, but the Effects of it will answer our expectation; especially, in the Northern Parts, where I am well assur'd, the Major Part of the Gentry are my Friends, and have given sufficient Demonstrations to me, as also of their Intentions to prosecute this Presbyterian Plot, for they are no strangers to the Design.*

At the same time, he ordered *Dangerfield* to be very careful of what he communicated to the persons who were to be Witnesses in that new Plot, lest he should be caught in the Subornation, and so bring a terrible Odium upon the Catholics, and make himself incapable of any further Service.

Then for Encouragement in the prosecution of
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the *Sham-Plot*, the Duke promis'd, that he would take care that Money should not be wanting, and ordered him, with all the Expedition the Thing would allow, to make a Discovery to the King. At the same time, the Duke also made divers Vows, and bitter Execrations, to stand by him in the Thing, and engaged upon his Honour, to be his Rewarder; and, in Earnest, gave him Twenty Guineys, with his own Hand; and telling him withal, what a great Reputation he had gained among the Catholics, and that in a short time he should see the Catholick Religion flourish in these Kingdoms; with a great deal more to the same purpose.

Of the truth of which, among many others, there could not be a more convincing Proof, than the bitter Enmity which the Duke bore to *Dangerfield* after his Discovery; and the severe Usage which he receiv'd from *Jefferies*, the Duke's Creature, and the Rhadamantine Dispenser of his Revenges.

In *Scotland* he Rul'd, or rather Reign'd, tho' in his Brother's Life-time, with a more Arbitrary and Lawless Controul. And there it was that he breath'd forth his Venome against the *Protestants*, utter'd his Tyrannous Maxims with more freedom, and exercis'd his Tyranny with a more boundless and exorbitant Extravagance. For there it was, that he first undertook to exercise the power of Sovereign Rule, refusing to take the Oath of High Commissioner, which the Law of the Country requir'd, as here he had denied to take the Test; and to shew how he intended to Govern *England*, when it came to his turn, there it was, that in the hearing of Persons of great Credit, he had this worthy Apothegm, *That tho' in England the Lawyers rul'd the Court, yet in Scotland*

land he would rule the *Lawyers*. There it was that he positively denied to give the *Parliament* any security for the preservation of their Religion, in case he succeeded to the Crown. And being told of the Terms that the King had offer'd to the *Parliament of England*, tho' much harder and more dishonourable than any which they required, he replied, That the King never intended any such Limitations should pass; nor did he offer them, but when he knew they would not be accepted. And farther, to demonstrate his im-bitter'd hatred of the *Protestants*, and with what Rage and Fury he intended to prosecute them, he told several Members of the *Parliament*, when they were endeavouring to get some Bills to pass for the Security of their Religion, in case of a *Popish* Successor, *That whatever they intended, or prepared, against the Papists, should light upon others.* Which tho' it stopt him from taking the Advantage of any new Bills, yet he was so just to his Word, in behalf of the *Papists*, that he pour'd all the Rigour of the Penal Laws, against the *Papists*, upon the *Protestants* in that Kingdom, under the Name of Dissenters, whom he persecuted, with that insatiable violence, as if according to his own Expression, he had fully concluded, That it would never be well with *Scotland*, till all the South-side of *Ferth* were made a Hunting-Field. For indeed that was the true intent and drift of all his envenom'd Prosecutions of those People, as well in *England*, as in *Scotland*, in hopes by so severe an Exasperation, they would have broken out into open Rebellion, and so have given him a fair opportunity to have rooted them from the Earth by the Sword. Which was evident from another Saying of his; for that having one day
having

given his Opinion of siber Dissenters, and setting them forth, as he thought, in their Colours; he concluded, *That if he might have his Wish, he would have them all turn Rebels, and betake themselves to Arms.* Which tho' it shew'd his good Will yet whether it were so prudently spoken by a Person that had so little either of Courage or Conduct as himself, is a question, unless he thought he cou'd subdue them with the Spiritual Weapons of the Pope's Excommunications and Curses: nor did he at the same time remember that the heavy Oppressions of the *Spanish* Inquisition tore from the Dominions of the *Spaniards* all the seven United Provinces, notwithstanding all that *D'Alva*, *Parma*, and *Spinola* could do; tho' their Military Fame far exceeded his

Thus we have seen the extent of his Christianity; which we find coop'd up within the narrow bounds of Popery. Now for his Morality, which if it signalize it self in any Virtue that celebrates a Great and Glorious Prince, it must be in those two, of Justice and Mercy, which God appropriates most nearly to himself, as the brightest Ornaments of his Divinity: But whether the Duke were either Just or Merciful to the *E. of Argyll* will be the Question. This Gentleman was one of the most Ancient, and one of the most eminent Noblemen in *Scotland*, and a Person of extraordinary Endowments, and, as such a one, had serv'd the King with his Parts, his Person and Estate, beyond what most Men of any Degree in the Nation, either had done or were able to perform; but because he would not so far comply with, and oblige the Duke, as to fall in with his Councils, for the Establishment of Popery, and yield himself an Instrument to carry on his Designs of Popery and Arbitrary Power, his Head

must be brought to the Block, the Ancient Honour of his Family must be attained, and his ample Fortunes be confiscated. To which purpose, a certain Test being fram'd for all the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland to take, not excepting all others who were capable of any Office or Employment in the Kingdom, easie enough for the Papists to swallow, as being Calculated for their peculiar Advantage; but difficult for the Protestants, as being that which strangely confus'd and intangled their Consciences. However the Earl was not so scrupulous neither, to avoid all Occasions possible of incurring his Highness's Displeasure, but offer'd to take it, with this *Proviso*, That he might declare in what sense he was willing to be sworn. Accordingly he did draw up an Explanation of his own meaning, and tho he were allowed to take the Oath according to that Explanation, which was also conformable to an Explanation which themselves were forced to make for the satisfaction of the greatest part of the Kingdom, that was dissatisfied in the Oath as well as the Earl; nay, tho his Lordship did take it according to his own allowed Interpretation, which was so far excepted, that he was admitted to take his place in the Council; yet upon a *Casus* of the Duke's Justice, the matter was call'd in question again; but then such horrid Treasons were pick'd out of the Earl's Interpretation, that he was Arraign'd and Condemn'd to lose his Head; and Execution had been certainly done, had he not made his escape in his Sisters Habit, but a few hours before the Express Arrived from *England*, with Orders for his immediate Execution: Nevertheless his whole Estate was seiz'd, he was divested of all his Titles and Dignities; and contrary to the Custom of the Kingdom, his Coat of Arms

was despitefully torn at the Publick Market-cross of *Edinburgh*, and his Person hunted after in all places, whither they thought he might be withdrawn, even as far as *Hamburg*. And yet after all the scrutinies which sober Men have made, the chiefest of the *Scots* Lawyers, that were of unbiassed Principles, could never find any thing in the *Earl's* Interpretation, but what his indispenfible Duty obliged him to, both as a Christian, a Subject of *Scotland*, and a Privy Counsellor to the King. But the D. was resolved to destroy him right or wrong: And therefore being told what the E. of *Argyle* had said or done, which could be made a Crime by the Law of the Land, his Highness, out of the great Affection which he bore to so true a Protestant Peer, was pleas'd to reply, *But may it not be wrested to Treason?* Which was such an Incouragement, that when his Mind was once understood, he wanted not Instruments that labour'd day and night to make the Question subservient to the D's impatient Thirst of Revenge, and their own Advantage; or else it might be to signalize his Resolution to overrule the *Lawyers* in *Scotland*, had they denied their Submission to his good will and pleasure.

By the same Justice it was that *Blackwood* was Condemn'd, upon a pretence of having entertain'd upon his Ground certain Persons, who were reported, and said to have been at *Bothwell-Bridge*. And this, although there had been no notice given of their being Criminals, or any waies Offenders; nor any Proclamations were issued out against them, by which *Blackwood* could be obliged to take Cognizance of the Circumstances they lay under; and that which aggravated the Injustice was this, That the Gentleman suffered after a Gene-

ral Act of Indemnity granted; and that it was after the Council themselves had for four Years pass'd them by, that either the Persons whom he had reliev'd came to be accus'd, or he to be prosecuted upon this account.

And by the same Justice it was, that Mr Robert Bailzie of *Jerismond*, was Hang'd and Quartered for a Crime of which he had been Impeach'd and Try'd before the Council, and fin'd six Thousand Pounds Sterling. And all this his Highness did by over-ruling the Lawyers of *Scotland*; by which means he had made the Judges and Jury as malicious against the Protestants, and as revengeful against the Assertors of the Liberties of *Scotland*, as himself. Such Exorbitancies of Injustice and Arbitrary Power, that his Brother could never have endurd in a Subject, had they not been act'd all along with his knowledge and consent. Otherwise, had not the King been strangely infatuated, to believe that whatever his Brother did, was for the advancement of that Cause to which he was so well effected himself, he could never have been so unapprehensive of the danger he was in, from a Brother so actually in a Conspiracy against his Life: For which Reason he was, by the E. of *Shaftsbury*, said, to be *a Prince not to be paralleld in History*. For certainly, besides the early tryal which the King had of his Ambition beyond sea, he had a fair warning of the hasty Advances which he made to his Throne in a short time after his Marriage to the Queen: For no sooner was it discover'd the Queen was unlikely to have any Issue by the King, but he and his Party made Proclamation of it to the World, and that he was the certain Heir.

He takes his Seat in Parliament as Prince of
Wales

Wales, with his Guards about him: He assumes the Princes Lodgings at *White-hall*, his Guards upon the same place, without any intermission between him and the King; so that the King was in his Hands and Power every Night. All Offices and Preferments are bestowed upon him, and at his disposition, not a Bishop made without him. After this he changes his Religion to make a *Party*, and such a *Party*, that his Brother must be sure to die, and be made away, to make room for him. And for the undeniable proof of all this, at length the *Plot* breaks out, headed by the Duke, his Interest and Design.

Plain it was, that where-ever he came, he endeavour'd to remove all Obstacles to his intended Designs out of the way. And therefore some there are who attribute the extremity of the Duke's rigour toward the E. of *Argyle* to the great Authority which the Earl had in some part of the High-Lands, and the Awe which he had over the Papists, as being Lord Justiciary in those parts, and his being able upon any occasion to check and bridle the Marq. of *Huntly*, now Duke of *Gordon* from attempting the Disturbance of the *Publick* Peace, or the prejudice of the Protestants. However this is observable, That notwithstanding the height of severity which was extended to him, there was as much favour shewn the Lord *Macleod*; whose invading the Shire of *Argyle* with an Armed Force, merely because he was required by the said Earl, as being a Papist, to deliver up his Arms, was never so much as questioned, nor so much as a Reprimand given him for what he did; tho' when the Council sent a Herald to him, to require him to disband his Forces, he caus'd his Coat to be torn from his Back, and sent

him back to *Edinburgh* with all the Marks both of Contempt of themselves, and Disgrace to the Publick Officer. But his Religion was sufficient to atone at that time for his Treason.

And now the Duke having a standing Army of five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse in *Scotland*, at his Devotion, as well as in *England*, and the *Parliament*, the main Object of his Hatred and his fear, being dissolv'd, back he returns into *England*; where under the shelter of his Brother's Authority, he began in a short time to exert his tyrannous Disposition, and play the same unjust and Arbitrary Pranks, as he had done in *Scotland*; and because it was not seasonable yet to make use of armed Forces, he set his *Westminster-Hall* Red-coats, like *Pioneers* before a Marching Army, to level the way for Popery and Arbitrary Controul, to march in over the ruin'd Estates, and murder'd Bodies of their Opposers. The *Judges* were his *Slaves*, the *Juries* at his beck; nothing could withstand him; the Law it self grows lawless, and *Jefferies* ridden, plays the *Debauchee* like himself. Justice, or something in her likeness, waggons, hectors, whips, imprisons, fines, draws, hangs and quarters, and beheads all that come near her, under the Duke's displeasure. *Alde man Pilkington*, the Present honourable Lord Mayor, for standing up for the Rights and Liberties of the City, and for refusing to pack a Jury to take away the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Life, is prosecuted upon a *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the Duke, Convicted and Condemn'd in a Verdict of an Hundred thousand pounds. And Sir *Patience Ward*, for offering to confront the suborn'd Witnesses, is Indicted of Perjury, for which he was forced to fly to *Utretcht* to avoid the

the Infamy of the Pillory; though in all his Dealings so well known to be a person of that Justice and Integrity, that for all the hopes of the Duke, he would not have told an untruth. Sir *Samuel Barnardiston*, for two or three treacherously intercepted Letters to his Friends in the Country, fin'd ten thousand pounds; which he was not suffered to discharge by *Quarterly Payments*, but the Estate seiz'd by the Duke's Solicitors, to the end he might have an opportunity to be the more prodigal in the wake of it.

But this hunting after the Lives, as well as the Estates of others, was more intolerable; and that by the prostituted Testimony of suborn'd *Irish Rogues* and Vagabonds; and when that would not take the desir'd Effect, by the forced Evidence of Persons ensnar'd and shackl'd under the Terrors of Death; till the drudgery of Swearing was over. Men so fond of Life, that they bought the uncertain prolongation of a wicked Mortality, at the unhallow'd price of certain and immortal Infamy. And therefore not knowing how to die, when they knew not how to live, accounted it a more gainful Happiness to quit the Pardon of Heavens Tribunal, for the Broad Seal of *England*.

By this means fell the Virtuous Lord *Russel*, a Sacrifice to the *Bill of Exclusion*, and the Duke's Revenge; and yet of that integrity to his Country, and untainted course of Life, of whom never any spoke evil, but those that knew no evil in him; only because he was one of those who sought to exclude the Duke from the hopes of Tyranny and Oppression, the Duke was resolv'd to exclude him from the Earth.

But then comes the Murder of the Earl of *Essex* for

for that it was a most barbarous and inhumane Murther, committed by Bravos and bloody Russians set on, hired and encourag'd by potent Malice and Cruelty; the pregnant Circumstances no less corroborated by Testimonies, wanting only the confirmation of Legal Judicature, has been already so clearly made out that there is no place left for a hesitating belief. A Truth so conspicuous, as stands in defiance of the Ridiculing Pen of *R. L'Estrange*, to sham it over with the Buffoonry of his bantring Acquirements. it cannot be imagin'd, but that so black a Deed of Darknes, was carried on by the Contrivers, with all the secrecy that could be studied, by Humane Wit. But never yet was Humane Wit so circumspective, but that the most conceal'd villanies have been detected, by strange and little Accidents, which all the Foresight of humane *Sagacity* could never prevent. More especially, after such a curious Inquisition, and so much Labour and Industry, pursuing the Cry of this innocent Nobleman's Blood. Both the Circumstances, and Depositions, beside the Declarations of others, ready to depose, are made publick at large to the World. and therefore to omit the long-since sifted, and winnowed Contradictions of the Witnesses, that were made use of, to prove the Earl a *Fels de se*; there are three things since discovered, that carry a strong Conviction with them, of another sort of Murder, in the new Deposition of *Dorothy Smith*, detecting the Motives, the Author and Contriver, the Resolution taken to murder a Noble Protestant Earl, the Manner concluded, and the Joy of those Insatuated Bigots, when the Deed was perpetrated; and all this over-heard by the Maid, at the Meeting of one *Livet*, and several other Persons, privy

to the *Plot*, in the House of one *Holmes*, whom she then served, a trusty Papist, seated in a by-Corner of the Town, and where they thought themselves, for that Reason, in the greatest safety in the World.

This Meeting was nine Days before the Earl's Death, where after they had vomited out their Malice against the Earl, in the opprobrious Terms of Villain and Dog, and laden him with Curses, it was said, *That he knew so much of their Designs, and was so very averse to their Interest, that unless he were taken off, they should never carry them on.* Inducements, which as they had carried off Sir *Edmund-Bury Godfrey* before, might be as easily admitted for the Destruction of a more considerable Obstacle; more especially harboured in the Breasts of Men, that make it peculiar to propagate their Religion by Blood and Massacre.

Therefore to remove this great Obstruction out of the way, their great Oracle, the Duke of *York*, was consulted; who, after some Meditations, was for Poysoning the Earl: But his Highness being told, that manner of Death would not look well: There was another, who propos'd to his Highness, that he might be stabb'd; but that not being approved of neither, at length his Highness concluded, and ordered his Throat should be Cut; and promised to be there when it was done.

To all which, there needs no other Comment, but that the Earl's Throat was cut soon after, and that the Duke was in the *Tower*, separated from the King, and close by the Earl's Lodging, when the Murder was committed.

After this, the Maid goes on and deposes, That three days after the same Persons met in the same House,

House, and declared, That the Cutting the Earl's Throat was concluded on; but that it was to be given out, that he had done it himself, and that if any should deny it, they would take them up, and punish them for it. All which being spoken, as a thing contriv'd before the Fact was done, and verifi'd in every particular after it was committed, are Circumstances that would hardly be wrestled with before Impartial Judges, at an OldBaily Sessions; where it would be also considered, that the terrible prosecution of *Braddon*, for making Enquiry into the Murder, came all from *White-Hall*, under the Management of Court Injustice and Corruption.

But lastly, The Maid swears, That the same day the Earl died, the same Persons met again, at her Masters House, and fell a Capering about the Room for Joy; at which time one of them striking her Master upon the Back, cry'd, The Deed was done; upon which *Holmes* commanding, whether the Earl's Throat was Cut; the other answer'd, Yes, and added withal, That he could not but laugh to think how like a Fool the Earl look'd, when they came to Cut his Throat: Whereupon *Holmes* asking whether his Highness was there? The other replied, Yes. With which agreed the Informations of several Souldiers, that about a quarter of an hour before the Earl's Death was discover'd, observ'd the Duke to separate from the King; at what time he beckned to two Persons, who coming to him, he sent them to the Earl's Lodging, from whence they return'd smiling, in less than a quarter of an hour, and told him the business was done, as one of them more particularly declared; for which particular knowledge of his, he was afterwards sent out of the World.

Nor

Nor was the Information of the Woman less to be heeded, who informs, That as she was walking, a little before the Earl's Death, before the Chamber-window, she heard a very great trampling and bustling in the Earl's Chamber, saw three or four heads move close together, and heard a loud and doleful cry of Murder. And whereas Floyd the Sentinal denied at Braddon's Trial, the letting of any Men into the Earl's Lodgings before his Death, yet afterwards with great remorse of Conscience he confessed that he did let in two or three Men by the Special Order of Hawley the Warder,

It will be an unaccountable thing to Posterity, that the E. of S. should so readily part with his Money to Holland, suspected to be one of the Bloody Ruffians, whenever he went or sent for it, tho' a profligate, at the same time convicted in Newgate for Robbery upon the High-way.

It will also seem as strange, that Webster, an Under-Bailiff of St Katherine's, and an indigent Ale-draper, should of a sudden be Master of Five hundred Pounds, at such an unlucky nick of Time, as immediately after the Earl's Murder.

But I forbear to enlarge any farther upon a Theme already so labouriously discuss'd, and Publick to the World. Only this is to be added, That it might seem strange, that after the Murder was done, such care should be taken, and such strict command given for conveying the News to the Old-Baily, till we hear to what end it was done, by the Kings Counsel snapping so quickly at it, as if they had had their Lesson before, and improving it with all their Eloquence, to the Destruction of the Lord Russel. Nor is it unlikely, that Jefferies might be either privy to the Design in some measure at that time, or else be
more

more fully acquainted with it in order to *Brad-*
don's Trial. More especially if it be true, which
 is confidently reported, That his Lordship be-
 ing at some Publick Place, where he took an oc-
 casion to speak largely, in praise of the decea-
 sed King; when he had done, *However*, said he,
 whispering a Gentleman in the Ear, *Had he liv'd*
six Months longer, we had been all hang'd notwith-
standing my Encomiums.

The Discovery of which Alteration of the King,
 by a severe Expression which dropt from his Lips
 upon reading a Letter from a Lord, who eat his
 last Meal with the Duke, and wrote the same on
 his Death Bed, as it seems to be confirmed by
 this saying of *Jefferies*, so was it by many con-
 cluded to be the occasion of hastning the King's
 Death. Concerning which, the Opinions of the
 World are various, and some severe, and bear-
 ing hard enough upon his Successor: But in re-
 guard it is a Mystery, as the Embrio of Con-
 jecture, which is only to be matur'd in the
 Womb of Time, and to be Midwiv'd into the
 World by future Discovery, we leave it to higher
 Scrutiny. The Justice of Heaven perhaps not
 minding a present Revenge of his Death, who
 had not only prevented the Prosecution of Noble
 and Innocent *Essex's* Blood, but so severely pu-
 nish'd the Industrious Enquiry after it. only this
 is further to be mark'd, that the *Irish* Papists
 could for some time before, fix upon the utmost
 period of his Reign, and the D. was sent for in
 hast out of *Scotland*, without any apparent Rea-
 son for it; besides that the King's permission was
 obtain'd with some difficulty.

However, by the violent and tremendous Death
 of his Brother, he at length arrived at the long
 long

long wish'd for Heaven of his Ambitious Desires ; and beholds himself mounted upon the Pinicle of Royalty, only that his Fall might be more conspicuous.

He was no sooner Proclaimed, but he declared his Religion openly to his Privy Council ; however, he began with a mild and caressing Declaration, which he afterwards broke in every Line of it : A meer Trap baited with Indulgence to Tender Consciences, on purpose to catch the Dissenting Mice, to deliver them, when caught, into the Paws of his ravenous Popish Cats ; but no sooner was he Crowned, but as if his Coronation-Oath, and all his Promises so lately made, had been no more than so many Pills of *Opium*, and believing himself environed with Power sufficient to maintain his Tyranny and Oppression, he invades Property, by Expulsion of the right Owners ; tramples upon the Laws by his pretended Prerogative of Suspending Power, and goes about to pull down the stately structure of the Protestant Religion, by the suspension of one, and imprisoning and arraigning at his Criminal Bar, no less than seven of the most Eminent Fathers of the *English Church*. And by a strange alteration of the Face of Government, Treason over-rules the Law, and Traitors impeached, are fetch'd out of Jail to sit Triumphantly domineering at the Helm of State ; and *Jeffries*, the *Daniel*, that in some measure might be said to be taken out of the Lions Den, for the Cruelty of his Nature, is advanced in open Hostility to Justice ; to wage War with the Fundamental Constitutions of the Kingdom : A mean Spirit, insulting over his Inferiors, but a Spaniel to his Superiors ; who tho' he knew himself no more than a Tool in the

hand of a Popish Artificer; the Shadow of Grandeur, lost under Contempt, and domineering only in publick; yet having pawn'd his Soul for the hopes of an Embroider'd Purse, rather than recoil to Goodness, careers on in Mischief, and as if his Robes had not been Scarlet enough, dyes them more deep in Innocent Blood, and becomes his Master's Vassal, to enslave the Nation. Such Counsellors as these hurried on the new crowned King with such a Rapidity, to accomplish the great Work of introducing Tyranny and Popery, to which his own Fears of leaving the Papists worse than he found them, as furiously carried him, that he threw his Brother into his Grave as if he had not had leisure to bury him; or as if he had deem'd him not worth a Funeral, whom he thought not worth a longer Life: Unless perhaps he thought the Hypocritie of pompous Obsequies, would have but the more provok'd his Brother's injur'd *Mares*, with which as common Fame had spread it, he was already too much pester'd. I will not here dispute the Truth of Apparitions, nor insist upon the vulgar censures about the Town upon the Priests, for not detaining him in the half-way-Prison, but singling him out of Purgatory to make his Brother melancholy, by facing him several times, and giving him an astonishing stroke upon the back, as he was going down a pair of Stairs in *Whitehall*; yet this may be asserted, That Guilt accompanied with Terror, forms those Apparitions in the mind, which work the same effect, and obtain the same belief, when once divulg'd among the Credulous, as if they were real: However it were, it shew'd he thought himself but little beholding to him for living so long, and consequently no way oblig'd to retaliate a Succession

Succession so late in the Year, with so much loss of time.

And now the first influences of his Tyranny and Fury against the Protestants, flew into *Scotland*, where whatever Indulgence he shewed in *England*, he issued forth a dreadful Proclamation against the Dissenters, under the Notion of Enemies to the King and Government, and Destroyers of the *British Monarchy*; sufficient to have given a more early Alarm to the Dissenters in *England*, had they not been lull'd asleep by the softness of a present Repose, and the Charms of their Decoy-Duke *Penn.* the effect rather of their Simplicity than their Policy.

But the first Act of his Revenge in *England*, brake forth upon Dr. *Oates*; He could not forget the Doctor's detection of his Conspiracies against the Kingdom: And because he could not find out a way to hang him; his *Chief Justice Jefferies* found out a punishment to gratifie his Royal Fury, worse than Death it self, and till then unknown among *Christians*, in Imitation of the Roman *Fustuarium*, by which the *Roman* Souldiers were often drub'd to death, or if they scap'd, sent into perpetual Banishment: as the Doctor was first of all scourg'd by the common Executioner beyond all Precedent, and then condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment. A Sentence so void of all Christian Compassion, that only a *Jefferies* could have invented, A goodly sight to see Protestant Judges condemning a Protestant, and the Detector of a most horrid Popish Plot, upon the Evidence of known Papists, and some of them nearly related to the Executed Traytors, and this for Perjury too, upon the Testimony of Witnesses already falsified. As if Justice were a thing that

never had been Naturaliz'd in Heaven, but only depended upon the will of the Prince, a kind of Tool to be us'd by his *Bene-placito* Slaves, at his or their Discretion, or the grand Popper of the World, to be shew'd in various Dresses and Disguises, as the force of Judicature requir'd. But as for *Dangerfield*, he had been once his Darling, frequently admitted to kiss his Hand, while he was in Conspiracy with him to suck the Blood of the Innocent. But there was no Attonement for his Revolting, and Revealing the hidden Mystery of Iniquity. Therefore he must dance the same Dance that *Oates* had done; only the King did the World this small piece of Justice, to throw away an inconsiderable *Roman Catholick*, to satisfy the general Discontent upon his being murder'd.

In the next place he calls a Parliament, and renews his Assurances and Promises to preserve the Government both in Church and State, as by Law establish'd; and Vows to hazard his own Person, as he had formerly done in defence of the just Liberties and Properties of the Nation. But still the Burden of his Soug was, *More money*. Which the Parliament, willing to Engage him, if possible, by all the Testimonies of their Duty and Loyalty, or at least to shew that nothing should be wanting on their part, readily granted. And in regard that *Argyle* was said to be landed, under the Notion of a Rebel in *Scotland*, they declared their Resolutions to stand by and assist him, with their Lives and Fortunes, against all his Enemies whatever. No less quick were they to gratifie, than he to make those Promises which he never intended to perform. And indeed, under the Consternation the King was then in, upon the Landin g,

Landing of *Argyle* in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* in *England*, both at the same time, perhaps the Parliament might have bound him up to what Conditions they pleas'd; had they not slip't their Opportunity. But those two Storms being fortunately blown over, the one by ill Conduct, the other by the Treachery of pretended Friendship, and both *Argyle* and the Duke of *Monmouth* safe in their Graves, the King was so puffed up with a petty Victory over a few Clubmen, and so wrapt up with a Conceit, That he had now Conquer'd the whole Nation, that after he had got as much as he thought he could in modesty desire, or they part withal, unless they saw greater Occasions than they did; which nevertheless were no small Sums- in the heat of their obliging Generosity at the Commencement of a Reign, he turn'd them off, after he had sold them two or three inconsiderable Acts for all their Money.

And now being freed from any farther thoughts of Parliaments, believing himself Impregnable; he resolves to be reveng'd upon the *Western* People for siding with his Capital Enemy *Monmouth*; and to that purpose, sends down his Executioner in Ordinary, *Jefferies*; not to decimate, according to the Heathen way of Mercy, but with the Besome of his Cruelties, to sweep the Country before him, and to depopulate, instead of Punishment. At what time, acquaintance, or Relation of any that fell in the Field, with a slender Circumstance rack'd to either, was a Crime sufficient for the Extirpation of the Family. And young and old were hang'd in Clusters, as if the Chief Justice had design'd to raise the Price of Halberds; besides the great number of those that upon bare Suspicion were transported beyond Sea, and there sold.

for Slaves, and the Purchase-mony given away to satisfy the Hunger of needy Papists. After Ages will read with Astonishment, the barbarous Usage of those poor people, of which among many Instances, this one may seem sufficient whereby to take the Dimensions of all the rest: That when the sister of the two *Hewlands* hung upon the *Cheif Justices Coach*, imploring Mercy on the behalf of her Brothers; the merciless Judge, to make her let go, caus'd his Coachman to cut her Hands and Fingers with the lash of his Whip: Nor would he allow the Respite of the Execution but for two days. tho' the Sister with Tears in her Eyes, offer'd a Hundred pound for so small a Favour. And whoever sheltered any of those forlorn Creatures, were hurried to the Slaughter-House with the same inexorable outrage, without any Consideration either of Age or Sex; Witness the Execution of the Lady *Lisle* at *Winchester*. As for *Argyle* and the Duke, tho' they might die pitied, yet could they not be said to be unjustly put to death, in regard they had declared open Hostility, and therefore it was no more than they were to expect upon ill Success. However, since they were betray'd into the Victor's hands, before any great harm was done, the Crime was not so great that nothing but a Massacre could atone for it; more especially considering what great Advantage the King made of these Rebellions. For it gave him a fair Opportunity to increase the Number of his Standing-Forces, under pretence, That the Militia was not to be depended upon, and of the Reputation he had lost of being so miserably unprovided against so wretched an Attempt as *Monmouth's* was. For which Reason he was resolv'd to be better provided henceforward for the Security

curity of the Nation; and to croud in his Popish Officers into Commands, under the Notion of Persons of approv'd Loyalty, and therefore such whose Persons he was neither to expose to Disgrace by a Removal, nor himself to suffer the want of: Cautious and wary of Removing his Popish Commanders, but minding not at all to remove the Fears and Jealousies of the Nation.

However his plausible Promises, and this important Necessity of augmenting his Standing Forces, were urg'd upon the Parliament, as undeniable Reasons for more Money. So great a Confidence the King had either in the Awe which he had upon the Parliament, or that they were so Blind that they could not see through his Cobweb Pretences. But he soon found that he was deceived in his Expectations, and therefore perceiving his gilded Hooks could not take, they were decently Dismiss'd after ten Days sitting, with a Prorogation from *October* till *February* ensuing.

But it seems King *James* was so confidently assur'd, That the Bands of Friendship and Alliance between him and the *French* King were so Indissoluble, That whatever Assistance the Parliament deny'd him in *England*, he should not fall of from his Dear Friend and Confederate in *France*; That the Parliament being call'd for no other Intent or Purpose than to Betray the Nation, by Furnishing the King to accomplish his Designs of Popery and Arbitrary Government; when they refused to be subservient to those Wicked Designs, and thought it more Honourable to be true to the Nation whom they Represented, than Serviceable to the Encroachment of his Tyranny, he lay'd them aside as things no longer useful for him.

And therefore like a man cas'd with their just
denial

denial of his Demands, he resolves the utter Subversion of *English* Parliaments, the only Remora's of his ungodly Projects, by compleating the Disfranchising of all the Cities and Corporations throughout the Nation, so fairly begun in his Brother's Reign, to make way for the Introduction of a *French* Parliament, That should at once have surrender'd all the Ancient Liberty of the Kingdom, and the whole Power of the Government into his hands. And this to terrifie men into slavish Compliance, with his Tyrannical Will and Pleasure, the Names of all such Persons, as out of Honour and Conscience, refused to Co-operate with his Popish Ministers towards the Publick Ruin of Liberty and Religion, and prostitute their own and the Freedoms of their Posterity to his Arbitrary subjection, were Threatned to be return'd up to the Attorney-General, to the end their Persons and Estates might be undone by Illegal Prosecutions.

In the next place, to set himself Paramount above all the Controul of Law, out of a vain Opinion, that Kings are accountable to none but God; A set of Judges are pickt out to overturn the very Fundamentals of Humane Society, and Annihilate the very ends of Government. This the King knew must be done by Judges that had abandoned all High Opinion of God and Nature, and had quitted all sense of Conscience and True Honour; and had wholly given up their Judgments to the foolish Enticements of Ambition and Flattery; And when he had found out such, it was easie for him to say, with his Grandfather of the same Name, *Let me make what Judges I please, and I will easily have what I please to be Law.* No wonder then these Judges having Instruments drawn

drawn up by *Brent*, which pass'd the Great Seal to Indemnifie them for whatever they did or said Illegally, affirm'd it to the King for Law, That the King was an Independent Prince.

That the Laws of the Kingdom, were the Kings Laws.

That the Kings of England might Dispence with all Laws, that regarded Penalties and Punishments, as oft as necessity required.

That they were Judges and Arbitrators who have Power to Judge of the Necessity which may induce them to make use of these Dispensations.

And Lastly, That the King of England could not Renounce a Prerogative annexed to the Crown.

By Vertue of which Concessions and Opinions of the Judges, all the Laws in England made in the Reigns of four several Princes for the security of the Nation against Popery and Arbitrary Government, were rendered of no Effect.

By Vertue of these Concessions, *Arundel* of *Warder*, was made Lord Privy Seal, *Alibon* a Judge, and *Castlemain* was sent with great Pomp an Embassador to *Rome*, to be there contemn'd and dispis'd by his Holiness, for the bad name which his Master had among all the Princes of Europe, and the ill Opinion the Pope himself had of him.

By Vertue of these Concessions it was, that the greatest part of the Kingdom's Military Safety and Defence, was put into the hands of persons incapable to be intrusted with them by the Express Laws of the Kingdom; and that the Execution of the Ancient Laws and Statutes of the Realm, against divers sorts of Treasons and other hainous Crimes was stopt.

By Vertue of these Concessions, Sir E. Hales
was

was made Lieutenant of the Tower, to Terrifie the City with his Mortar-pieces, and level his Great Guns to the Destruction of the Metropolis of the Kingdom, when the Word should be given him.

By Vertue of these Concessions it was, that *Peters* was made a Privy Councillor, to outbrave the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London*: that he had his four Provincial Bishops, and that the Priests and Jesuites swarm'd in all parts of the Kingdom, Built themselves Convents, hired Mass-Houses, made open Profession of their Popish Religion in the Chief City of the Nation, and in severall of the Great Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, and publickly Ridicul'd the Scripture in their Pulpits. All which Transgressions of all the Laws of the Land both Civil and Ecclesiastick, are so fully Represented in the Memorial of the Protestants, to their Highnesses the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange*, That they cannot be more fully, nor more sensibly repeated.

But the Inundation stopt not here, it was to be a general Deluge, or nothing at all. To which purpose, all Obstructions, that oppos'd the Torrent, were to be level'd or remov'd out of the way; for effecting of which, there could be no Engine thought sufficient, but that of the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, so arbitrary in its Original, that it had nothing but the Pillars of the *Prerogative* to support it; and manag'd with that Arbitrary Fury by *Jefferies*, That he look'd like a Monstrous *Titan* Warring against the Heaven of Law and Justice. For he had no way to carry Illegality with a high hand, but by arrogant Domineering, and surely Incivility, while he had nothing to offer to any Person, that offer'd Law to him, but *Sic Vult, Sic Jubeo*. To
tell

tell a Peer of *England* and the Bishop of *London* so much his Superiour, only that he sat upon the Throne of his Commission, he that was not to be mentioned with the Bishop in the same day, was such a soul piece of Exuberance of his *Guildhall* Eloquence, which only, could have dropt from the lips of insulting Barbarism. All that can be said for him is this, That as many men commit Absurdities when loaden with Wine; this was one of his Extravagancies in his Drink of Honour. And indeed, after he had tasted of that potent Charm, the whole Course of his Behaviour seem'd, to be a meer Intoxication, which made him afterwards make use of the same Receipt to drown both his Life and his Dishonour together.

However, the Suspending this Noble Peer and Bishop, contrary to all pretence of Law, for refusing to obey the Kings unjust and illegal Command, was no such Advantage to the King's Cause, that he had so much reason to thank the Chancellor, or *Peters* either, for putting him upon committing a greater Act of Injustice, to justify a less. The Bishop was too well, and too generally belov'd among all the professors of *Protestantism*, for the Papists to put such an Affront upon so Eminent a Father of the Protestant Church, for them not to resent it; even; the more prudent Papists thought it a Proceeding too harsh and unreasonable, and the more moderate look'd upon it as too base and unworthy; so that the Houspurs of the King's Council were losers on every side. And besides, it was such a stabbing contradiction to the King's Speech in Council upon his Brother's Death, *That since it had pleased God he should succeed so good and gracious a Prince as his dear Brother, he was resolv'd to follow his Example, more especially in that of Clemency*

Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People. That the barbarous ſuſpending this Biſhop was one of the main things which deſtroyed the ſolemn verity of Royal Word. Which though he had falſified already in his ſeverity to *Oates* and *Dangerfield*, yet the Perſon of a Peer and Biſhop, and a Star of the firſt Magnitude in the Church of *England* render'd much more conſpicuous. But the King was under a neceſſity; he had declar'd one thing to the Proteſtants, but he had bound himſelf to do another for the Papifts. If he falſified with the Proteſtants, the Papifts could abſolve him; if he prov'd unfaithful to the Papifts, they would never forgive him. And in this *Dilemma* he reſolv'd to follow the Maxim of his Profeſſion, *Not to keep Faith with Hereticks*. Neither were the ſteps he made, the ſteps of State-convenience, now and then upon an exigency; but all in a huddle, out of his Zeal, to make large ſteps, for fear, he ſhould dye and leave the Papifts worſe than he found them.

Theſe ſevere Proceedings againſt the Biſhop of *London*, were the Violation of that part of his Declaration, wherein he promis'd the Preſervation of the *Eccleſiaſtical Government as Eſtabliſhed by Law*. But the Barbarous uſage of the Gentlemen of both *Maudlin Colledges*, was an unſanctified breach of another part of his Declaration, wherein he no leſs ſolemnly engaged to maintain the Proteſtants in all their Properties and Poſſeſſions as well of Church as Abby-Lands, as of all other their Properties whatſoever. Notwithſtanding all which, how he turn'd theſe Gentlemen out of their Legal Freeholds by the Arbitrary Power of his High Commiſſion, how he violated the Conſtitutions of the deceased Founders, and with what an embitter'd rage and fury he raved them like
Dogs,

Dogs, when they lay prostrate at his feet, more like a Pagan Tyrant, than a Christian King, is notoriously known; and all this to make a Popish Seminary of one of the most noble and best Colledges in the University. And this *Peters* look'd upon as one of his great Master-pieces. as appears by a Letter of his written to the *French King's* Confessor, Father *La Chese*, wherein he had the vaunting expression, *I have gain'd a great point, in perswading the King to place our Fathers in Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, where they they will be able to tutor the young Scholars in the Catholick Religion.*

Nor was it thought sufficient to turn the Proprietors out of their Freeholds, but under pretence of disobedience to the King's Commands, they were also made incapable of any Ecclesiastical Preferment, or of the Exercise of Holy Orders, and depriv'd of all those other ways and means of Livelihood, for which their Education had qualified them. Which as it was a piece of Inhumanity without parallel, so it was a plain demonstration of the main drift and design of the King and his Popish Furies, first to draw the Protestant Clergy into the snare of Disobedience, and then under pretence of Obstinacy and Stuborness, totally to suppress and silence them.

And yet after all this, for the King so publickly to give himself the Lye, by proclaiming to all the World, as he did, such a notorious untruth, as *That he had never invaded the Property of any Man since his coming to the Crown*, was such a piece of Dissimulation, that *Oliver Cromwell* himself, with all the Irreligion laid to his Charge, was never guilty of. Unless his Father Confessor design'd it for a Miracle to be Recorded among Popish Wonders, That he who had done nothing else

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from

from the beginning of his Reign, but invaded the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects should be so confident as to deny it. But whatever, through the frailty of his memory, he had till then forgot, he was resolv'd, it seems, for the future, to make amends for his omission. To which purpose he was now provided with such a Gunpowder-Plot, that had it taken effect, would, ere a few months had gone about, have blown up all the Properties of the whole Clergy of *England*, without exception of any person that had either Honour or Conscience; and the greatest part of the Bishopricks and Livings of *England* would have been pronounc'd void, to make way for Sandals and shaved Crowns.

This was that cunning Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, whereby he undertook to dispense with the Laws by the sole vertue of his Prerogative. An attempt wherein his Brother had miscarried, being forc'd to surrender up, and Cancel the Illegal Contrivance, he had prepar'd for a Tryal. But King *James* puffed up with the great Exploits he had in person perform'd upon *Honslow-Heath* and the Glorious shew his Army made there, Rendezvouz'd at the same time in the same place, to add terror to his Commands, resolv'd to make all Opposition to bow the *Knee* to *Baal*.

In pursuance of those Resolutions, he Orders his Declaration to be printed, requires the Bishops to cause it to be distributed through all their Diocesses, and to take care that it should be read in all the Churches and Chappels throughout the Nation.

Upon this the Bishops Petition the King setting forth the Illegality, and the ill Consequences of it to the whole Nation both in Church and State;
and

and beg the King not to insist upon the Reading it. This so incens'd *Peters* and the rest of the furious Hotspurs, and consequently provok'd the King to that degree, That the Court-Lawyers are presently consulted, who adjudge the Petition Tumultuary and Libellous; and thereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with the Bishop of *Asaph*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Bath* and *Wells*; *Peterborough*, and *Bristol*; are first sent to the *Tower*, and then Arraign'd and Tryed for Mutiners against the King's Popish Government, being Charg'd with an Information for Publishing a Seditious, Pernicious, and Scandalous Libel. But notwithstanding all that the Kings Council, and the C. J. *Wright*, and *Alibone* the Papist could do, Judge *Holloway*, and Judge *Powel*, to their Eternal praise stuck so close to their Protestant Principles, and so strongly oppos'd the Kings Dispensing Power, for which they were turn'd out the next day, that the Bishops were acquitted, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of the whole Nation; and particularly of the Soldiers upon *Monslow-Heath*, whose Shouts and Acclamations upon the News of their Acquittal, were so harsh and unpleasant in the Kings ear, that from thence forward he began to wish he had more *Irish*, and fewer *English* in his Army.

But notwithstanding this Fatal Blow, the most undaunted High Commissioners drove on furiously sending forth their Mandates to the Chancellors, Archdeacons, &c. of the several Diocesses, to send them an exact account of all such Ministers as had refus'd to Read the Declaration. And there is no question to be made, but that the severity of that Imperious Court would in a short time have swept the Kingdom clear of all the Pro-

restant Clergy, had not indulgent Heaven put a stop to their impetuous Career.

That which follows, is so Romantick, that it looks more like a Novel, than a Story fit to gain Credit, hardly carrying so much Probability with it, as the Fable of *Baccus*, cut out of *Jupiters* Thigh; and which looks more Romantick than all the rest; That the King himself should believe, and urge it for an Argument to delude the World, *That he who had suffer'd so much for Conscience sake, could not be capable of so great a Villany to the prejudice of his Children;* and in forcing the same Argument yet further, by saying, *That it was his Principle, to do as he would be done by, therefore would rather dye a thousand Deaths, than do the least Wrong to his Children.* When the World was convinced, that he could not have suffered such an Affront to have been put upon him, but for the very Reason he alledged; and that, as for his doing as he would be done by, it was apparent by all his Actions, that he could not speak those Words from his Heart, without some Mental Expositions reserved to himself.

Certainly therefore, since it was for the Preservation of the Roman Catholick Religion, that the Contrivance was set on foot it argues, that his Conscience was under the most dreadful Subjection to his Popish Confessors, or that his Zeal was no less strangely govern'd by an imperious Woman, that for the sake of Popery, he should consent to a Conspiracy against his own Flesh and Blood. He would not endure to be Excluded from the Succession, but he would Exclude his own Daughters from the Succession, and yet tells us, 'tis his Principle, *To do as he would be done by,* as if he thought the way to make us credit a Story

ry of his Son, were to tell an untruth of himself.

The World that grows Wiser every day than other, will never be made believe, that a Person debilitated by the unfortunate Effects of the exasperated Revenge of an injured Bed, and meeting with a Consort no less infirm, by whom he never had before any Child, but what dropt into the Grave as soon as Born, not having any substantial Rafter for Life to build upon, should so seasonably nick it, to be both the Parents of a sound Offspring for the preservation of Popery.

She, who ought to have taken all advantages to have had publick and undeniable Testimonies of her Glory, to be the Mother of a Prince, so providentially sent from Heaven, to Support and Establish the *Roman Catholick* Faith, in a Revolted Kingdom, would never have been so reserv'd, and shy of exposing the Symptomes of her pregnancy, but only to a few that were privy to the Imposture.

But omitting the manifold Circumstances, sufficiently already canvassed, to detect the *Pious Fraud*; and the Chyrum of Affidavits to cover the Cheat, all brought upon the publick Stage, by dire constraint on the one side, and immodest Bigottry on the other; the unhappy occasion of revealing the the Arcana of Generation to every Turnspit, and serving only to inflame the desires of wanton Youth; Omitting, I say, the Circumstances, there are others, no less remarkable of another Nature; as the sending *Castelmain* to *Rome*, among other things, to impart this Affair to his Holiness, and to know whether the Apostolick See would stand by the pretended Prince, in case the People should dispute his Title. And this seems to be confirmed by the coming over of Count *Dada*, in the Quality of the *Pope's Nun*,

rio, just as the Farce was contriving, and the Popes being afterwards Godfather to the Child.

In the next place, about the time that the Conception was pretended, Father *Peters* was taken into the Privy Council; to give the Report all the Favour imaginable at the Board, to prevent the being of it Contested, or if it were, to satisfy all manner of Doubts, and so incite the Lords to make such Orders, as the Case required; which had not been so proper for the King, or the rest of the Popish Lords, who knew not so well what to insist upon. Another thing was, that the Child was no sooner Born, but it was translated to *Richmond*, lest the pretended Mother should have been put to the Trouble of a forced Fondness, which had the Child continued with her, would have prov'd a part so irksom, and so ill for her to act, that notice would have been taken of it.

Nor was it less observable, that at the same time the Bishops were lock'd up safe, that they might be out of the way of being called for Witnesses, whose Impartiality otherwise would have been desiring more satisfaction to their consciences, than the depth of the Mystery requir'd.

To which may be added, That at the first, the King himself, who had most Reason to know, did not seem to give Credit to the thing, or at least, was very doubtful of it; and therefore, when the News was first brought him, as one that rather wish'd it true, than thought it to be real; he made answer to the Messenger, *If 'twere so, 'twas very odd*; till finding that the Lady of *Loretta* would take Bribes, and had espoused the blessed Design, he was bound to believe, that his Mother-in-Law's Prayers, and the Diamond Bodkin

had

had prevail'd; and that his Royal Consort had been impregnated by an Apparition, like the Mother of *Damaratus*, King of *Sparta*.

However, it was look'd upon all over *Europe*, as a very low and mean Condescension of a Sovereign Prince, Hedge-Sparrow like. to hatch the Cuckoo's Egg, and own the suppositions Issue of another Man; which they, who pretend to make the best Excuse for, seem willing to believe proceeded more from Fear than Conscience in regard, that being Privy to the many Conspiracies of the Priests and Jesuits against his Brother's Life, it possess'd him with such a dread of their Popish Mercy, that he yielded to whatever they desir'd, for his own Preservation. On the other side, the Priests and Jesuits were so terribly afraid of a Revolution after his Death; that by the Power of his imperious Queen, and their own Importunities, they hurried him on to all those Impolitick Exorbitances, that hastened both their own and his Ruin.

For now the Nation, no longer able to brook such a deluge of illegal Oppressions, and the whole Body of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, observing such a general Desolation impending upon their Religion, Lives and Fortunes, apply themselves to their Highnesses the Princess and Prince of *Orange*, as the only Cherubims on Earth, under whose Wings they could retire for Safety and Protection. Who no sooner, with a Generosity becoming a true Defender of the Protestant Faith, appear'd in their Defence, but Consternation seiz'd King *James* and all his Raving Counsellors.

Upon the first News of the Heroic Prince's Preparations, he takes off the Bishop of *London's* Suspension

Suspension, restores the City-Charter, with all those other Franchises which had been so tempestuously ravish'd from other Corporations, and returns the Ejected Gentlemen of both Universities to the Freeholds which he had wrested out of their hands. But yet to shew how firm he was in his Resolutions to resume the same Despotic Power again, had his Success once answer'd his Expectations; after he had order'd the Bishop of Winchester to put in the Fellows of *Maudlin College*, he no sooner heard of the Prince's being put back by storm, with some small Loss, which was heightned out of Policy in *Holland*, but he recall'd his Orders to the Bishop, sent for him to *London*, and stopt the Re-admission of the Fellows, till he heard the Prince was again Embark'd, and prosperously bending his Course for *England*.

So soon as he heard the Prince was Landed, he summons his Affidavit Lords and Ladies about him, in hopes to have sworn his pretended Son into the Succession, in case of any Miscarriage of his own Person, which he never intended to indanger. After that he flew to *Salisbury*, believing the Terror of his Name would have gain'd him present Victory. But not meeting the good Fortune he expected, all that he did there, was to discourage his Soldiers with his Pusillanimous Fears and Frights upon every little Alarm of a Post-Boy. So that altho he had good Counsel given him, To Horse all his Foot, displace all the Colonels, and advance the other Officers graduly, and fall upon the Enemy while they were yet labouring under the inconveniencies of the Sea, and before their Numbers increased, he rejected it, unless he might keep his Teagues about him, and expose the *English* to the usual dangers of
Road

Road beaters. Which together with their unwillingness to engage the Deliverers of their County, so alienated their hearts from him, that they deserted him by Troops and Regiments. Desponding at this and more terrified with a little bleeding at the Nose, than he had been with all the Innocent Blood which he had caus'd to be spilt, he returns back to *London*, and having sent his Queen and her Babe before, which was sufficient Warning for *Dada, Peters*, and the rest to provide for themselves, he withdrew from the City; but being taken, rifled, and seiz'd by the Country People near *Feverham* before they knew him, he was brought back to *Whitehall*, where having his Choise given him to stay in *England*, or go beyond Sea, he rather chose by a voluntary departure, to abdicate the Realm. To which he was advis'd by his Council, that assur'd him; The Distractions of the Kingdom would make way for his Return in a little time; *Which God forbid!*

And thus, to the surprize of all men, came to pass a Revolution so Sudden, so Great, and Unexpected, that History cannot parallel. It seem'd a Laybyrith of Providence, to which the Belov'd of Heaven **WILLIAM HENRY** only had the Clue; while Prudence and Fortitude were the *Ariadnes* that gave him their Assistance to subdue the *Minotaur* that devoured our Religion and Liberties: Two conspicuous Examples at once of Heaven's Indignation, and the Almighty's Favour; the one pursuing to his downfal an Apostate from God, and an Oppressor of his People, and exposing him among unbelieving Bog-trotters upon the lingring deathbed of his gasping Glory, the fetter'd Vassal of his once-sawning Confederate. The other prospering with Miracles of Success,

cess, the Generous Redeemer of the True Reformed Religion; from the devouring Jaws of that double headed Monster, *Poper*y and *Slavery*; By whose Auspicious Conduct two late languishing Kingdoms, groaning under the heavy weight of Misery and Tyranny, enjoy a Jubilee of Peace and Tranquility, and freed from the daily fears of Massacre and Destructione in the fair way to recover their *Pristine* Glory, have now no more to do, but to repay their Praises to Heaven, and their due acknowledgments to Them that have approv'd themselves the truly Indulging Father and Mother of their Country: A Prince, the Wonder of His Age; a Princess, the Miricle of Her Sex; in whom all Virtues, as in their proper Center meet; rendring the Nation happy in *Two* in *One*, as the whole World is blest in *Three* in *One*, and upon whom, next under Heaven, depend the hopes of all that cordially desire the Welfare and Prosperity of *Christendom*.

Here ends of the *Secret History*, of the
Four Last Monarchs of *Great Britain*.

APPENDIX

Containing the

Secret History

O F

King JAMES the II.

Since his Abdication of *England*, to this present *January*, 1691. With a Particular Account of his Actions in *Ireland*.

IT is plain, from what has been already said, that Our Late Monarch's whole endeavours were bent to introduce Popery, and Establish it in these Kingdoms, and that he could not more readily effect it, and try the Genius of his Protestant Subjects of *Ireland*, (who were taught to yield him *Passive Obedience*, by the easie Compliance of some of their Party then in Power, to his fierce Inchoachments) than by a new Modelling of the Army there; which in a very little time was so purged, that scarce a true Protestant, or honest Gentleman was left in it: And tho' it began by degrees, whilst his Excellency the Lord *Clarendon* had the Sword, yet it was fully executed to the ruine of many a worthy Gentleman, whose fortune depended on it) a little after the Lord *Tyrconnel* had the honour to be his Deputy in that Kingdom. This being the first step, the *Irish* were made Officers, and
Troops

Troops and Companies filled every where with them, and were trained and exercised by an extraordinary Dilligence of some good Old Officers, kept in on Purpose for it, who soon became not only Contemners of their Protestant Commanders, but were prefered to their Places So that the Sword (and Consequently the Military command of that Kingdom) was wholly in their Power, and all this by the expresse command of the Late King. The next thing to be looked into was the Civil Magistrate, and he who was known to be a true Protestant, was laid aside, and new Judges of the Right Stamp were first Coyned, who had commanded in their respective Circuits to inform the Government of all Protestant Justices (or Cromwells favorers as they called them) who were likewise presently eased of their Com-missioners, and all other Employments. Then the Officers of the Revenue were also purged; and several of the *Irish* who had got in among them (in inferiour Stations) yet in regard they were not so well qualified as the Protestants, by a knowledg in those affairs, some were removed, and the most usefull of the Protestants restored for a while; yet as the *Irish* grew skilful, the Protestants still were outed again: Matters being thus acted and the Protestant Nobility and many of the Genery knowing of no better expedient than to come into *England*. (since they could not struggle against the Kings most unjust and Arbitrary will, which was a Law in *Ireland*) therefore they removed hither to work a Remonstrance of the Grievances of that Kingdom, to the Late King: and tho' they flocked over from all Parts yet they prevailed so little to gain any redress that they saw plainly they could not return into *Ireland* without apparent hazard of their Lives. And

And now was it judged, by the late King, and his doubty Deputy Tyrconnel, the fittest Time to put the long contrived Designs of subverting the *Protestant Religion*, and introducing *Popery* into full Execution; upon which, in Nov. 1688. there was a motion made in Council for disarming all the rest of the *Protestants* of that Kingdom, which being known, and most concluding that as soon as their Arms were taken (there being then a hot discourse of a general Massacre intended) 'twas only to leave them more naked and exposed, so as that might have its full effect more easily, and with less opposition upon them, which alarm'd the *Protestants* so, that many Thousands came flocking over to avoid that fatal stroke. Now were the few *Protestants* who lived, dispers'd, left to shift for themselves. In the mean time, the Lord Tyrconnel (who still had the Sword undemanded, and undisposed of to any other) issues new Commissions, not only to the *Ro. Ca.* who had some Estates, but to all, who were willing to stand up for the Cause, that were Men of broken Fortunes, and worse Fame, that could influence the Rabble, and raise Companies, only with this *Salvo*, that they should maintain them for Three Months, at their own Cost and Charges, and then they should have their Commissions given them; by which it was adjudged, in regard there was but little Money in the Treasury, they should be fitted for Service against the time that King James should come, or send them Money; or that if the Deputy found an Army ready to Land out of *England*, what Money was there would be little enough to bear his Charges, and furnish him with necessaries on his Flight. But these Commissions (or rather Encouragements) being very many; for every one that could get about Sixty *Kearnes* or Country Fellows to joyn with them, and own him as their Captain, immediately strutted and look'd very big, and was honoured by the name of Captain; so that it was nothing strange to have Twenty or Thirty Companies in a County, and these the noted Vagabonds and Cow-stealers: So that presently the Captains (many of which had not Three Cows of their own) had several Hundreds of Cattle driven into Nooks and By-Paths; and all that were branded, were sure to go to Pot, in regard the

Horn (as they called it) spoke *English*: The rest were sent into other remote Counties, to the Officers there, and those again sent their Stolen Cattle in exchange for the other, which was done to elude a Proclamation from the Lord Deputy, on the many and daily Complaints and Petitions he receiv'd on account of the Stolen Cattle) requiring all Officers and Soldiers, as well as others, to be aiding and assisting to recover the Stolen Cattle, and to Punish the Offenders, which pass'd for Currant: For it was well if a Protestant could go safe to the next Garrison, who sometimes would be so civil (especially if a Summ of Money were given his Men to assist in the search) as to send Eight or Ten Miles, but be sure the Cattle must be far enough from the place searched; and sometime when Thirty or Forty good Fat Bullocks came to be made a Prey, that about a third or fourth part must be laid aside for the Pot; the rest for a Bribe of five or six Pound would be got by some of the Soldiers, who would Swear lustily they were forced to promise so much to their Spy: yet no sooner (on the delivery of the greater part of the Cattle, and the Money receiv'd) but before in a Night or two, the Cattle were again Stolen. Thus the Merry-Drovers (as they call'd themselves) valued not to joyn about Sixty, or Eighty, or an Hundred in one Party, and force away what Cattle they had a mind to: So that sometimes an Hundred Sheep would scarce Feed the Drivers, and their Families and Friends; and a purchase of about an Hundred was only fit to be divided among them and their Crew, into Lots and Parts, (but they call'd them *Steagues*. And now these new raised Forces were almost half Armed out of the Stores, the rest were pretty well fitted for Pikes made in the Country; and the Priests and Fryars Commanded (on Obedience to the Holy See) that no Person whatsoever should appear at Mass without his long Skeane and Half Pike, which accordingly was performed; and one Person who had not one foot of Land but what he Farm'd from an *English* Gentleman, had 12 Dozen of each made for himself and Tenants; an account whereof was sent to the Government, but no notice taken.

And now it was judged fit, That these new raised Forces should betake themselves to Garrisons, which
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was suddenly done. And not only were the King's Garrisons, Forts, and Castles well stored with them, but many Gentlemens Houses that were any thing strong (or whose Owners were judged disaffected to them) were likewise filled with their Numbers, and the Proprietors or Possessors turned out, and the Provision seized (and it was an extraordinary Favour to get off any Goods that were of any Value) on pretence that they were for the King's use, and that he would make satisfaction when, how, and in what manner he thought fit, and that was not the least thing done by his Command.

Now was it plain, That this Army was not designed to Fight with Butterflies, and that the Lives of all the Protestants that stayed, were in apparent danger: On which, an humble Request was made to one or two Persons of greatest Quality and Station, to stand up for the *Protestant Religion* and *English Interest*. --- But either through a mistaken Zeal for Loyalty, or judging the scattered and dispers'd Protestants too weak to withstand their shock (much less to disarm the Party designed) was therefore declined, and judged unfit to attempt, as they proposed, seizing the Sword, Lord Deputy and *Dublin*.

Matters being thus transacted, it was judged by the Protestant Gentry of the *West of Ireland*, that in regard *Sligo* (which is a Sea Port Town, and the chief in the County) one of the best Ports and strongest, being also well situated to pass from the *North* to *Connaught*; (the *Irish Company*, a little before, being drawn out of it to a general Rendezvous) and many of their new raised Forces possessing themselves daily of the most considerable Strengths in the County, as *Belaby*, *Moygara*, which belongs to the Lord *Kingston* and his Tenants, *Oustead* and *Ballymoote*; therefore, lest they should possess themselves of *Sligo*, as they intended, it was resolved by the Protestants there, to enter it, and possess themselves of it for their defence and safety; and so they did unanimously issue their Declaration on the fourth of *January* 88. That they Associated themselves in the necessary defence of their Lives, and the *Protestant Religion as by Law established*, which to their utmost Powers they would maintain, and would not prejudice even *Roman Catholicks*, whilst they

demeaned themselves according to the Laws. — The Protestants then chose the Right Honourable Robert Lord Baron of *Kingston*, and the Honourable *Chidly Coote*, Esq; their Commanders in Chief, to whom they promised intire Obedience — And accordingly all were formed into Troops and Companies, and all furnished themselves with the Men under their respective Commands, with Horses, Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, &c. imploying all the Smiths in fixing Arms, making Pikes, Stars, and other Inventions against Horse, and to defend Forts, buying all the Scythes and fixing them on Poles, building up all the old and decayed Forts, making Draw-bridges, ordering Frontier Garrisons, keeping strong Watch and Ward on all Quarters, at *Grange*, near midway to *Ballyshannon*, to hold there Correspondence with *Derry*; at *New-town*, *Dramahere*, and *Mannerhamelton*, to have Intelligence with *Innis-killing*; at *Dr. Lesties* at *Cooloon* and *Marcray*, to prevent any IncurSIONs of the Enemy from the *Boyle* or *Ballemoote*; at *Ardinglass*, *Lackan*, and *Cattles-town*, to awe the new raised Army in the County of *Mayo*, part of which had seized the Bishop of *Killalla's* House: And when one *Mr. Tremble* (a Servant of *Sir Arthur Gore's*) asked one Captain *Walter Bourke*, why he would seize the Bishops House, and make it a Garrison, the Gate was shut upon him, and he set upon and Barbarously Murthered. Likewise an Account of the Protestants who were at *Foxford* and many other Places, who were drawing to *Sligo*, on the Orders that Issued for disarming all Protestants of the Kingdom; as also to take all their Service Horses, which was obeyed with that Secresie, Diligence and Care, that not so much as a Plow Horse was left; so that many a Family, for want of a Horse to carry their Luggage, was forced to stay and submit to their Merciless Cruelties; but this Garrison relieved, and conveyed many a distressed and robbed Protestant to *Sligo*, who soon was recruited and put into Troops or Companies at the Officers Charge. During this time, there was a secret Intrigue with Secretary *Ellis* and *Mr. Temple*; As also a Sham Letter from the Lord *Tyrconnel* into *England*, about delivering the Sword; and had any one been sent to demand the Sword with about 7000 Soldters, 'tis not doubted but

but it would be delivered; tho' at the same time the Lord Montjoy (lest he should stand up for the *Protestants*) is Complemented with an Embassy to *France*.

And now the *Irish* getting all this time to strengthen themselves, and the Arms and Horses taken from the *Protestants*, they began to encrease to an Army of 90000 strong: And all this while, there was neither Commission, Arms, Ammunition, nor Money sent to the *Protestants* at *Sligo*, notwithstanding, that as they were informed, it was earnestly solicited by a Person of Quality in *England*, who knew the goodness and strength of that Post they were in, and that they daily expected some Succours; so that the *Protestants* there began to be in very great want of Ammunition; and, notwithstanding all their endeavours, wanted many Arms, tho' all the Fowling Pieces were cut into Carbines, and Smiths continually at Work.

And the Sword (to which the Supream acknowledgment is paid) was still undemanded in the Lord Tyrconnel's hand; and sure, without Command he would not lay it down; yet the *Protestants* at *Sligo* continued in their own, and the *Protestant* Religions Defence, according to their own Declaration of the fourth of January without any violation of it, and kept constant Watch and Ward, with the usual exercise against occasion offered, only an account of several *Protestants* who were stopt at *Boyle*, and their Goods seized by Colonel Mac Donel, who possessed himself of the Lord Kingston's House there, and likewise on all the Corn and Hay of his Tenants near it. The said Lord Kingston writ to the Colonel, desiring him to let the *Protestants*, with their Goods, come down, for he did not hinder any *Papist* to remove to him; which not being done, my Lord resolved to deliver those from their Restraints; and accordingly, with a considerable Party of Horse and Foot, Marched to *Boyle*; but the Colonel hearing of my Lord's coming, drew in all his Men and Horses into my Lord's House and Court, and Capitulated, and let his Prisoners go; and engaged, on Honour, not to hinder any from joining at *Sligo*; but no sooner was my Lord and his Party gone, than the next day, those that heard of that Engagement, and were desirous to go thither, were all seized, and kept close Prisoners till

the Affizes. About this time, which was the beginning of *March*, the unlucky Declaration (pardon the Expression) of the second of *Feb.* last, as being sent before any Army was Landed, which gave time to all *Papists* to lay down their Arms, and repair to their respective Dwellings by the 10th of *April* following, &c. which did so tie up all the *Protestants* from Acts of Hostility, even to those who some time before Stole their Cattle, that the least Violence was not offered them, in an absolute and intire Obedience to that Declaration; by which means they were encouraged to have Pardon for their Villanies and Robberies; and told by the Priests, Fryars, and Officers, that no Army would be sent to Suppress them; and therefore, till the time limited, they should let none know their Resolutions, whether to lay down or stand to their Arms. — Also the French Marquess *Duport* Landing in *Kin-sale*, and going to *Dublin* about this time, was Splendidly Entertained by the Lord Deputy, who assured him, it would not be long till an Army Landed in *Ireland* out of *France*; as also of King *James's* going thither very speedily, and a full account of what since happened, which would not at all be credited by any *Protestants*, but that an Army would Land out of *England*, before any could come from *France*; but it was hoped, the Marquess would not return back to *France*, nor escape our Men at Sea. Intelligence being now receiv'd, and an Account of the Army, and how Affairs stood, being sent back by Monsieur, it was judged expedient to March an Army with all speed to the *North*, and suppress the *Protestants* there. Accordingly an Army came to *Lisnegarry*, which (after a little Dispute, a great number of their Men falling on a small Party of ours) made them quit their Ground. The noise of this Victory soon took Wing, and gave them encouragement to Besiege *Colraime*; and not being able to do any Execution on that side, drew off their Men to March them back, to get over the Bridge above it, and so fall on that Town from the other side of the River, on which, *Colraime* wanting Trusty and good Officers in it to Command, the Rabble with the Inhabitants, deserted and left the Town (excepting those only that resolved to submit to the Enemy;) by which means, and the great

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disorder they were in to get to *Derry*, many a good Horse and Arms, as well as the Riches of that Town, fell into the Enemies hands. Notice of these Disasters being immediately sent from *Derry*, by Colonel *Lundee*, to the Gentlemen who kept Garrisons in their Houses, in the Counties of *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, &c. who were earnestly desired to draw down immediately with their Men, and joyn *Derry* Men; and understanding the Condition *Derry* was in, Marcht forthwith: And, lest the Enemy should possess themselves of their strong Houses, Goods, and Provisions, set Fire to all, and Marcht away by the Light of it; consuming their own Goods and Houses to joyn with *Derry* Men, and oppose the Enemies Marching thither to Besiege it.

About this time, Letters came to *Sligo*, by Expresses, one after another, from the Colonel, desiring my Lord *Kingston* to send a Party to joyn them at *Derry*: But answer being immediately returned him, that there were scarcely Men enough at *Sligo* to keep that Post (so far from all Relief and) in the Face of the Enemy, and of the want there was of Arms and Ammunition (which were then at *Derry* to be had for Money, had Colonel *Lundy* done just things) Every Officer, for himself and Men, sent for so many as they wanted, according to their Proportions, and made a Purse, and thought it convenient to send Captain *Coote* forthwith to acquaint them with the State of the Garrison, and know theirs; and bring Arms and Ammunition, which were very much wanting; whilst another Letter came posting to desire a speedy joyning them at *Derry*. But a Council being called, it was resolv'd to stay till Capt. *Coote* returned, and brought the certainty how Matters were, and not to quit that advantageous Post lightly, which cost so much Money and Work to strengthen it, and had so many Men, Women, and Children, that had, from almost all Parts of *Connaught*, flockt to it, and could not get room nor be provided for at *Derry*; and above all, was so considerable to awe all *Connaught* Forces, that in case of Hardships, Succours could come by Sea, which were now daily expected by every blast of an Easterly Wind, which was heartily wished and greedily long'd for. But streight a Third Express was suddenly hastened, shewing the great danger the North

was

was in ; and if that were lost (as it was feared, without *Sligo* Forces joyning them, it would) that *Sligo* could not hold out long after, and earnestly desired to desert it ; and that he had provided Quarters and Forrage for them ready there : On which Express, another Council was held, and knowing the great want there was of Ammunition (not much above one Barrel of Powder being in the Garrison at *Sligo*) and the danger that threatned them at *Derry*, it was resolved to joyn them forthwith, and quit *Sligo*, and to put all to the short Issue of one Field Fight. Accordingly, all now resolv'd to March with Bag and Baggage. The next day was spent in providing Horses and Necessaries, in getting Boats, breaking the big Guns, and sending the small to *Derry* by Water ; burning and destroying all the Corn, Hay, and Haggards about the Country ; calling in all the Frontier Garrisons ; and every one using his utmost endeavours (some by Water, to the Island of *Enishmarrey*, that was judged capable of Defence, till the Goods and Men could get off by Water to *Derry*,) the rest, with what Horses they could get : So that the day following all Marched ; and a Vessel lying then at *Sligo*, as many as could get off, with some Goods, the Wind being fair, Sailed away. But after two days March (in the saddest Weather that could blow) coming to *Bellshannon*, 20 Miles from *Sligo*, a Fourth Letter comes to my Lord to stay him there till Quarters were provided for him, and Forrage got for Horses ; which was no small Surprise, after drawing him from his Post, on assurance of providing those Necessaries, and of the Distress that threatned *Derry*.

A Boat also with Passengers and Goods from *Sligo* was cast away near *Domigale* ; and another sent with the Field Pieces, by reason of the Storm, put into an Island, and the next day seiz'd and taken back, as were all the Goods, Provisions, Men and Women that went into the Island, which was no small Booty. But now was my Lord *Kingston* forc'd, for want of Forrage, to disperse his Men, some to *Baleke*, some to *Domigale*, some to *Killabeg* (to keep *Boylagh* Men in awe who were extreemly increas'd, and began to Rob publickly on *Barnejsmore*) some at *Bellshannon*, and some about the County ; and so continued for Seventeen days in a very

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all condition for want of Forrage, many of the Horses being turned to Grass for want of it, and the Weather continuing extreemly bad; which so abused them, that many were made unservicable. At length a Letter comes from the Colonel to my Lord to *Ballyshannon*, about Ten at Night, to secure the Pass at *Ballynossey*, 30 Miles thence, by Ten next day, which was altogether impossible to be done; neither could it be under half that time that the Men could have notice of it sent them, as they lay scattered in their several Quarters, which formerly I mentioned; and many were likewise to provide Horses, their own being dead, or so weak, and out of Condition for want of Forrage, that they were of little use for Service: However, two Companies that were at and near *Donigale*, march'd in the Morning betime to join the *Northern* Men, and to secure that Pass, which was Twenty Miles from them, and many Hundreds of Men, Women and Children March'd with them, with Bag and Baggage, in hopes to get to *Derry* before the Enemy intercepted them; but this day being dismally Wet, and extreem Windy and Marching over that horrible Mountain of *Barnesmore*, which is fifteen Miles long, tho' they Marched at an extraordinary rate, yet it was Seven at Night before they could reach it; and my Lord (expecting to meet Colonel *Lundy* there) rid, with a Dozen Horse, to discourse him, and to know why he was drawn from his Post on pretence of so great danger? Why he was kept there in that bad condition so long after he had receiv'd his Letter, that Quarters and Forrage was provided for him and his Party? Why he had not notice sooner sent him of the Enemies approaching so near? And how was it possible for him to March his Men, who lay scattered at such a distance, under at least three days notice? but coming thither, there was soon an account given by those, who that day were broke and fled from *Cladyford* Fight, that the Colonel, with the Horse whom he Commanded to go with him to secure a Pass on the River above *Cladyford*, was gone to *Derry*; and it was not much questioned, but the Enemy, who soon fell into *Raphoe*, killing Men in the very Streets there, would be as soon at the Gates of *Derry*, and enter as the Colonel. And it is not much to be doubted, that had the *Irish* Army liberty of

of getting over that Ford, which they could not possibly do without great danger of their Lives, the Waters being so very high with that days Rain, and the Bridge being broken down, that if they could have Marched over and pursued their Victory, they would have got in without great (if any) opposition; for Colonel *Cunningham*, with the Succours sent by him, for the Relief and Defence of the Town, had set Sail, and returned: And it was not doubted but *Derry*, as well as *Colrain*, would be left to them by *Lundy*, in regard that neither Men nor Arms were Landed. — And now this Party thus disappointed at *Ballemosey*, and the Enemy in *Rapho*, between them and *Derry* after this days sad March, were now forc'd to return that Night over that wild Mountain; and Horses being weak and weary with the long March and bad Weather, could not get back that Night, but were left with Loads and all: So that by much difficulty, and by the great Care the Two Companies of Foot (who brought up the Rear) took to bring off the Women and Children, who were sadly toiled and tired many of them would have been left and lost, as almost all their Goods and Baggage were. And the next Morning got back to *Donnigale*, with much difficulty and distress, by reason of the badness of the Weather, as well as that of the Way, and the Darkeness, Windiness, and Rain contributed not a little to the Hazards and Losses they sustained. And now consulting what was to be done in these Disorders, or rather Treacherous and Villanous Practices, it was concluded, that my Lord *Kingston* (with the Officers of his appointment that were there with him) should come off in three or four Vessels that lay at *Killabegs*, and hasten over and give an account how Matters were, and get Commissions, and return with all speed to their Friends, Relations and Tenants, whom they Mounted and Armed, and sent strait to joyn *Inniskilling* Men; which was no small trouble to them, that after about Four Months Cost, Sufferings, and Acquaintance, they must now part, having neither Arms, Ammunition, nor Supplies sent them: But it was now plain, That the Colonel (who knew very well, That King *James* was near his Army) which gave clear occasions of Distrust; and that the private underhand Intelligence he held, would be

be to the Ruine of the *Protestants*; and the day after, the Lord *Kingston*, the Wind being fair, set Sail. But to relate the Miseries and Hardships they endured at Sea, lying a Ship Board like packt Herrings in their Boots and wet Cloaths, for six or seven days together, and twice like to be Cast away on the *Scotch Shore*; and thence getting at last to *Glasgow* in small Boats.

But to return to the Affairs in and about *Dublin*, *Tyrconnel* having, by King *James's* express Command, disarm'd the *Protestants* in general, throughout *Ireland*; the *Irish* Cut Throats, Sons, and Grand Sons of the Massakers of *Forty One*, being Armed in their room; the Act of Settlement broken throughout *Ireland*; the *Irish* Clergy having re-assumed their Bishopricks and Livings; committing great Abuses on the *Protestant* Clergy; as we have formerly related. Advice came to *Dublin* of King *James's* being Landed at *Kinsale*, and that he was on his way for the City: Now, at this Prince's first Arrival in *Ireland*, to ingratiate himself with the *Protestants*, and to beget an Opinion of his great Clemency among the People, he very Graciously condescended to grant a general and free Pardon to the Inhabitants of the Town of *Bandon*, amusing them with an assurance of an absolute Indemnity for their Transgressions; but soon after he remitted them to the Severity of the Law, and exposed them to a Tryal for their Lives; upon which they were all found Guilty of High-Treason; and no other Consequence could rationally be expected, when both Judges and Jury were composed of inexorable *Papists*: And, in the mean time, this mighty Crime was no more, than that the Inhabitants of the Place observing their Neighbours to be openly Rob'd and Pillag'd, and from Clandestine Thievery to proceed to violent Depradation, they thought it prudent to shut their Gates, and avoid Plunder by a necessary Defence, and Self Preservation.

This was the first Essay of the gracious Indulgence of a *Popish* King to his *Protestant* Subjects: This was a plain Specimen of what is to be expected from him who will Mortgage his Reason to the Humour of his Priests.

It is a Matter not unworthy the Observation, how dexterously the Government there could prevaricate in their

their Dealings with the poor enslaved *Protestants*; for upon any apprehension of Succours arriving from *England*, or other pretext to fleece and squeeze them; an Information was presently given, how numerous the *Protestants* were, and what danger may arise from thence; and then they were forthwith confined, and hurried away to Prison, and their Houses and Goods expos'd to the Rapine of the *Irish* and *French*. At another time, when it might be subservient to their Designs to lessen the number, and undervalue the strength of the *Protestants*, then they give out, that their number was but small, and their Interest inconsiderable: And this is very remarkable in a late Passage at the City of *Lymrick*, where the Cabal of the *Papists* projecting to get the Churches there into their Hands, represented to the King and Council, that the *Protestants* in that Place were so very few, that there was no need to assign them any more than one Church for their Meeting; and this Suggestion was fortified by a Letter from the Earl of *Lymrick*, attesting the same. If at any time an Information was given to the Government of any Money, Plate, or other things valuable in the hands of a *Protestant*, tho' guarded by the solemnity of a Protection; this was soon seconded by the suspicion of some Plot against the Government, and immediately a Party was sent to seize their Persons, to search and Plunder their Houses; and so after, the Infliction of all sorts of Misery and Distress they are admitted to Liberty, under the caution of Bonds for good Behaviour; but nothing left to sustain them, or to prevent the Calamitous Assaults of Poverty and Famine: At another time they proceed with more Jesuitical fierceness, for having in their Eye a concealed purchase of Money, or good Moveables, in the hands of a *Protestant*, immediately an Order was secretly granted, to seize the Persons and secure their Goods; and then to amuse the World with an Opinion of their Justice and Lenity, a Proclamation was contrived with a plausible promise of Indemnity, to all *Protestants* under their Protection; and an Invitation to all Men to rest secure under the Benignity of it: But in the mean time, the Matter is so ordered, that the Proclamation shall not be Published, or delivered into the Sheriffs hands, or other Officers, tho' antedated
before

before the Issuing such Order, till a certain Advertisement be receiv'd, that the Order is Excluded, and the Work done.

What a miserable an unexpected Oppression is it, that the poor Subjects shall be Compelled to part with their Goods and Merchandize, for a Contemptible lump of Brass or Pewter? Yet such hath been the Constant proceeding of the late King towards his Subjects of *Ireland*; whose Goods and Commodities he rather Seizeth than Buyeth; and becoming the grand Merchant of the Kingdom, he was the general Ingrosser of all Trade, which he Vends and Exports to his dear Correspondent in *France*: Bargaining with the Owner at such a rate, as the Burger is pleas'd to make, and discharging his Contract in Bills of Copper, Pewter, and Brass, which can in no way avail the poor Seller, or support him in the Circulation of his Trade. I will only present the Reader with one instance, (among innumerable others) and give him an Authentick Account of what Goods were taken up in *Dublin* at one time, for the Kings use, (*i. e.*) were seiz'd by Armed Force, and a Price set upon them, at the pleasure of the Taker.

Seized in the City of *Dublin*, for the Kings use, February 6th. 1689.

Of Tanned Hides, 18771. Of Raw Hides, 14687.
Of Stones of Wool, 61105: Of Tuns of Tallow, 389.
Of Stones of Butter, 40.

The like methods were put in Execution in all Parts of the Country, Seizing and carrying away what the Protestants had, in order to be sent after the former,

After the King had made Brass-Money current in *Ireland*, it was at first pretended to pass only in Payments between Man and Man, in their daily

Commerce and Dealings, and in publick Payment in Debts to the Exchequer.

But soon after, the *Irish* beginning to consider, that they were generally indebted to the *English*, and that this might be a fit season, and a lucky opportunity to get their Debts easily, and cheaply discharged, A Proclamation was Published, enjoining and requiring, That Copper and Brass-Money should pass, as current Money within the Realm of *Ireland*, in the Payment of Bills, Bonds, Debts by Record, Mortgages, and all other Payments whatsoever. By which knack, many a poor Protestant was sold out of his Right, and compell'd to take an heap of Trash for his Debt. One of the most eminent Silver-Smiths of *Dublin*, having sold all his Plate to a Papist, who promised to pay him his price (agreed upon) in Silver and Gold; but no faith being to be kept, with Hereticks, the Gold-Smith was compell'd to take Brass and Copper: And soon after this the late King put out his Savoury and Fruitful Proclamation, to make Brass-Money pass in satisfaction of all Debts, Signed at *Dublin-Castle*, Feb. 4th. 1689. But I challenge all Histories, and Records of Nations, to parallel the late shameful usage of the poor Protestant Prisoners in *Galloway*, upon whom was placed so odious a Cheat, so unman-like a Sham, that Posterity will hardly be induced to believe it; and I must implore the Charity of the present Age, not to look upon it as a Fable; but it is so certain, and so sad a truth, that I defie the Subtility and Impudence of a Jesuite, to gain-say, or contradict it. There was a Stipulation made Some time ago, between K. *James*, and the *French* Tyrant, to exchange some Regiments of Auxillaries; and about 5000 Men being accordingly sent from *France*, and Landed in *Ireland*,
the

the late King ordered the like number of *Irish* to be forth-with Embarked, and transported into *France*, among whom, the Regiment of Coll. *Robert Fielding* was appointed to be one; but before he could get his Regiment on board, a great number of the Men run away, according to their natural and usual custom; so that he became mightily puzzled what Shift to make to recruit his Regiment, where upon this expedient was found out: There was in *Galloway* about 120 *English* Prisoners, who had endured the miseries of close Confinement, Cold, Hunger, and a daily Expectation of violent Death, for above 14 Months, for pretended Treason: To them Coll. *Fielding* applied himself, proposing that for every one of them that would raise 8 Men, and deliver them to him to recruit his Regiment, such should not only have their immediate Liberty, but an absolute Pardon; and to that purpose, he produced the Late Kings Warrant for a General Pardon: The poor Gentlemen, over-joyed with the Security of their Lives, and the Prospect of their Liberties, consented readily, and in a short time, about 14 of the Prisoners (with Extraordinary pains and Charge) brought in the number demanded, and delivered them to the Conduct of the Collonel; whom with his Men was no sooner shipped off, but an Order was sent from the late King, to Seize upon those deluded Gentlemen, and to recommit them to their former Prison, on pretence that *Fielding's* Contract with them, was not done with his Allowance: The Great *Turk* would blush to be charg'd with such an action! and the very Heathen would abhor it! An Action fit only for the *Monsieur* of *France*, and such Princes as are influenc'd by his Example. The *French* had not been two days in *Dublin*, when they

murder'd two or three Protestant Cloathiers, in a part of the City, call'd *Comb*; for that great Crime of protecting their Wives from being made Prostitutes to the *French*; of which Inhumane Act no notice was ever taken by the late King, or his Government, more than two Dogs had been shot. About the same time, some of them took a Country-Maid, that came to Market with her Father, and deflowered her in the open street at Noon-day. A motion was made in Council, that the City of *Dublin* should be fired, the Protestants being first shut up in the Churches and Hospitals, and that if they lost the day at the *Boyne*, to set Fire to all; whereupon the *Irish* Papists Trades in the City, and those of the Army, that either Themselves Relations, or Friends, own'd Houses in it, apply'd Themselves to their King, and told him They should suffer in that Expedition, as well as the Protestants; and that they would not draw a Sword in his Defence, unless all thoughts of burning the City, were set aside; and declared, that as soon as they saw or heard of any appearance of Fire, they would fly from his Service, and submit to King *Williams* Mercy; of which now they have had a good Experiment.

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